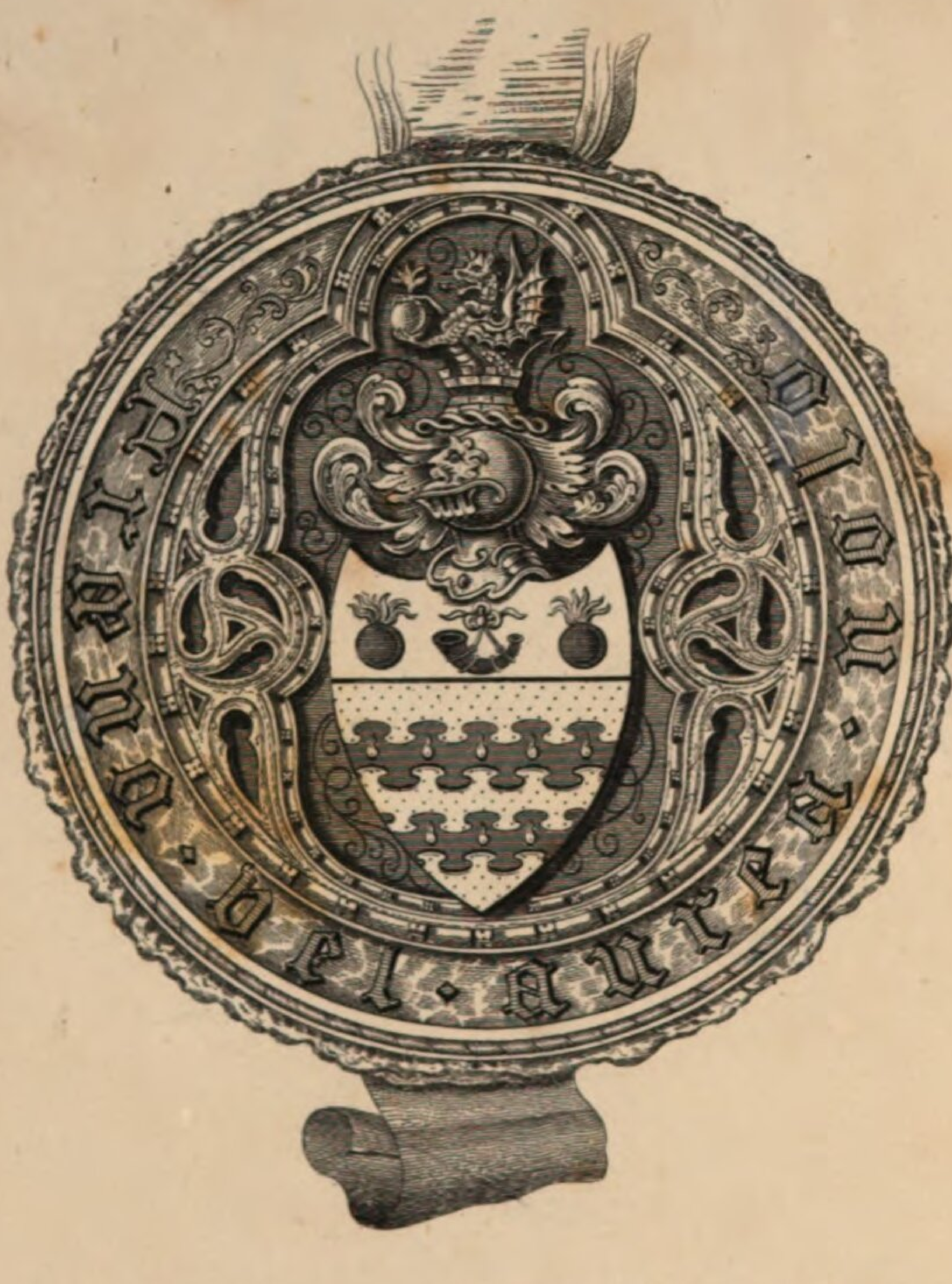
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A

GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,
BY SEA AND LAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. BOOK IV.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER XII.—*Continued.*

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY CAPTAIN GEORGE SHELVOCKE, IN 1719-1722.

SECTION V.

Voyage from California to Canton in China.

WE fell in with the coast of *California* on the 11th of August, and as soon as we were discovered by the natives, they made fires on the shore as we sailed past. Towards evening, two of them came off on a bark log, and were with difficulty induced to come on board. Seeing our negroes standing promiscuously among the whites, they angrily separated them from us, and would hardly suffer them to look at us. They then made signs for us to sit down, after which one of them put himself into strange postures, talking to us with great vehemence, and seeming to be in a transport of extacy, running from one to the other of us with great vehemence, continually singing, speaking, and

running, till quite out of breath. Night coming on, they were for departing, when we gave them a knife and an old coat each, with which they were much pleased, and invited us by signs to go on shore along with them. On the 13th, we were near Porto Leguro, whence some of the natives came out to meet us on bark-logs, while others made fires, as if to welcome us, on the tops of hills and rocks near the the sea, all seemingly rejoiced to see us; those on shore running up and down to each other, and those on the bark-logs paddling with all their strength to meet us.

No sooner was our anchor down than they came off to us in crowds, some on bark-logs, but most of them swimming, all the while talking and calling to each other confusedly. In an instant our ship was full of these swarthy gentry, all quite naked. Among the rest was their king or chief, who was no way distinguishable from the rest by any particular ornament, or even by any deference paid to him by his people, his only ensign of sovereignty being a round black stick of hard wood, about two feet and a half long. This being observed by some of our people, they brought him to me, and concluding that I was the chief of the ship, he delivered his black sceptre to me in a handsome manner, which I immediately returned. Notwithstanding his savage appearance, this man had a good countenance, and there was something dignified in his manner and behaviour. I soon found a way to regale them, by setting before them abundance of our choicest Peruvian conserves, with which they seemed much gratified. They were accommodated with spoons, mostly silver, all of which they very honestly returned.

Having thus commenced friendship with the natives, I sent an officer ashore to view the watering-place; and, to make him the more welcome, I sent with him some coarse blue baize and some sugar, to distribute among the women. On seeing our boat ready to put off, the king was for accompanying her in his bark-log, but I persuaded him to go in the boat, with which he seemed to be much gratified. The remainder of the day was spent with our wild visitors, who behaved in general very quietly. The officer returned with an account of having been very civilly received, and we prepared our casks for being sent ashore next morning. Although, at first view, the country and inhabitants might dissuade us from venturing freely among them, I had formerly read such accounts of these people, that I was under no apprehension of

of being molested in wooding and watering. The Californians, however, appeared very terrible to our negroes, insomuch, that one of them, who accompanied the officer on shore, was afraid to stir from the boat, and held an axe constantly in his hand, to defend himself in case of being attacked. On the approach of night, all the Indians swam ashore, leaving us a clear ship, after the fatigues of the day.

Next morning, at day-break, our boat went ashore with the people appointed to cut wood and fill our water-casks; and before the sun was up, our ship was again filled with our former guests, who seemed never satisfied with gazing at us and every thing about the ship. That nothing might be wanting to keep up our amity, I sent a large boiler on shore, with a good store of flour and sugar, and a negro cook, who continually boiled hasty-pudding, to serve the numerous guests on the beach. At first the natives remained idle spectators of our labours; but at length, taking compassion to see our few men labouring hard in rolling great casks of water over the heavy sand in the sultry heat of the day, they put forth their hands to help them, encouraged by the particular readiness of their chief to serve us; for, after seeing Mr Randal take up a log of wood to carry to the boat, he took up another, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of the natives, so that they eased our men mightily. They also rolled our casks down to the beach, but always expected a white man to assist them, though quite satisfied if he only touched the cask with his finger. This eased our men of a great deal of fatigue, and shortened the time of our stay at this place. We even found means to make those who used to stay all day on board, of some use to us; for, when we came to heel the ship, we crowded them all over on one side, which, with other shifts, gave her a deep heel, while we cleaned and paid her bottom with pitch and tallow.

The natives seemed every day more and more attached to us. When our boat went ashore in the morning, there was constantly a large retinue in waiting on the beach for our people, and particularly for those whom they guessed to be above the common rank, by their better dress. By this time, the news of our arrival had spread through all the neighbouring parts, and some natives of different tribes from that which dwelt about the bay, came daily to visit us. Those who came from any distance in the inland country could not swim,

swim, and were differently painted, besides some other visible distinctions; but all united amicably to assist us, and hardly any were idle except the women, who used to sit in circles on the scorching sand, waiting for their shares of what was going forwards, which they received without any quarrelling among themselves about the inequality of distribution. Having completed our business in five days, we prepared for our departure on the 18th August, and employed that morning in making a large distribution of sugar among the women, and gave a great many knives, old axes, and old iron among the men, being the most valuable presents we could make them; and, in return, they gave us bows and arrows, deer-skin bags, live foxes and squirrels, and the like. That we might impress them with awe of our superior power, we saluted them with five guns on loosing our top-sails, which greatly frightened them, and there seemed an universal damp on their spirits on seeing our sails loosed, as sorry for our approaching departure. The women were all in tears when my people were coming off to the ship; and many of the men remained till we were under sail, and then leapt into the sea with sorrowful countenances.

Having made some stay in California, some account of that country and its inhabitants may be expected; though I believe a complete discovery of its extent and boundaries would produce few real advantages, except satisfying the curious. That part of California which I saw, being the southern extremity of its western coast, appears mountainous, barren, and sandy, much like some parts of Peru; yet the soil about Porto Leguro, and most likely in the other vallies, is a rich black mould, and when turned up fresh to the sun, appears as if intermingled with gold-dust. We endeavoured to wash and purify some of this, and the more this was done, the more it appeared like gold. In order to be farther satisfied, I brought away some of this earth, but it was afterwards lost in our confusions in China. However this may be, California probably abounds in metals of all sorts, though the natives had no ornaments or utensils of any metal, which is not to be wondered at, as they are perfectly ignorant of all arts.

The country has plenty of wood, but the trees are very small, hardly better than bushes. But woods, which are an ornament to most other countries, serve only to make this appear the more desolate; for locusts swarm here in such numbers,

numbers, that they do not leave a green leaf on the trees. In the day, these destructive insects are continually on the wing in clouds, and are extremely troublesome by flying in one's face. In shape and size they greatly resemble our green grasshoppers, but are of a yellow colour. Immediately after we cast anchor, they came off in such numbers, that the sea around the ship was covered with their dead bodies. By their incessant ravages, the whole country round Porto Leguro was stripped totally naked, notwithstanding the warmth of the climate and the richness of the soil. Believing that the natives are only visited with this plague at this season of the year, I gave them a large quantity of calavances, and shewed them how they were sown. The harbour of Porto Leguro is about two leagues to the N.E. of Cape St Lucas, being a good and safe port, and very convenient for privateers when cruizing for the Manilla ship. The watering-place is on the north side of the bay or harbour, being a small river which there flows into the sea, and may easily be known by the appearance of a great quantity of green canes growing in it, which always retain their verdure, not being touched by the locusts, as these canes probably contain something noxious to that voracious insect.

The men of this country are tall, straight, and well set, having large limbs, with coarse black hair, hardly reaching to their shoulders. The women are of much smaller size, having much longer hair than the men, with which some of them almost cover their faces. Some of both sexes have good countenances; but all are much darker-complexioned than any of the other Indians I saw in the South Seas, being a very deep copper-colour. The men go quite naked, wearing only a few trifles by way of ornament, such as a band or wreath of red and white silk-grass round their heads, adorned on each side with a tuft of hawk's feathers. Others have pieces of mother-of-pearl and small shells fastened among their hair, and tied round their necks; and some had large necklaces of six or seven strings, composed of small red and black berries. Some are scarified all over their bodies; others use paint, some smearing their faces and breasts with black, while others were painted black down to the navel, and from thence to the feet with red.

The women wear a thick fringe or petticoat of silk-grass, reaching from their middle to their heels, and have a deer-skin carelessly thrown over their shoulders. Some of the better

better sort have a cloak of the skin of some large bird, instead of the bear-skins. Though the appearance of the Californians is exceedingly savage, yet, from what I could observe of their behaviour to each other, and their deportment towards us, they seem to possess all imaginable humanity. All the time we were there, and constantly among many hundreds of them, there was nothing to be seen but the most agreeable harmony, and most affectionate behaviour to each other. When any of us gave any thing eatable to one person, he always divided it among all who were around him, reserving the smallest share to himself. They seldom walked singly, but mostly in pairs, hand in hand. They seemed of meek and gentle dispositions, having no appearance of cruelty in their countenances or behaviour, yet seemed haughty towards their women. They lead a careless life, having every thing in common, and seemed to desire nothing beyond the necessaries of life. They never once offered to pilfer or steal any of our tools or other utensils; and such was their honesty, that my men having forgotten their axes one day on shore, while cutting wood, which was noticed by one of the natives, he told it to the king, who sent into the wood for the axes, and restored them with much apparent satisfaction.

Their language is guttural and harsh, and they talk a great deal, but I could never understand a single word they spoke. Their dwellings were very mean, being scarcely sufficient to shelter them. Their diet is, I believe, mostly fish, which they frequently eat raw, but they sometimes bake it in the sand. They seldom want abundance of this food, as the men go out to sea on their bark-logs, and are very expert harponiers. Their harpoons are made of hard wood, and with these they strike the largest albicores, and bring them ashore on their bark-logs, which they row with double paddles. This seemed strange to us, who had often experienced the strength of these fish; for frequently when we had hold of one of these with very large hooks, made fast to eight-strand twine, we had to bring the ship to, to bring them in, and it was then as much as eight or ten men could do; so that one would expect, when an Indian had struck one of these fish, from his light float, it would easily run away with the man and the bark-log; but they have some sleight in their way of management, by which the strength

and

and struggling of these fish are all in vain. There are hardly any birds to be seen in this country except a few pelicans.

When the Californians want to drink, they wade into the river, up to their middles, where they take up the water in their hands, or stoop down and suck it with their mouths. Their time is occupied between hunting, fishing, eating, and sleeping; and having abundant exercise, and rather a spare diet, their lives are ordinarily prolonged to considerable age, many of both sexes appearing to be very old, by their faces being much wrinkled, and their hair very grey. Their bows are about six feet long, with strings made of deer's sinews, but their arrows seemed too long for their bows; and considering that they have no adequate tools, these articles must require much time in making. The shafts of their arrows consist of a hollow cane, for two-thirds of their length, the other third, or head, being of a heavy kind of wood, edged with flint, or sometimes agate, and the edges notched like a saw, with a very sharp point. They made no display of their arms to us, and we seldom saw any in their hands, though they have need of some arms to defend themselves from wild beasts, as I saw some men who had been severely hurt in that way, particularly one old man, who had his thigh almost torn in pieces by a tiger or lion, and though healed, it was frightfully scarred. The women commonly go into the woods with bows and arrows in search of game, while the men are chiefly occupied in fishing. I can say nothing respecting their government, except that it did not seem any way strict or rigorous. When the king appeared in public, he was usually attended by many couples, or men walking hand in hand, two and two together. On the first morning of our arrival, he was seen in this manner coming out of a wood, and noticing one of my officers cutting down a tree, whom he judged to be better than ordinary, by having silver lace on his waistcoat, he shewed both his authority and civility at the same time, by ordering one of his attendants to take the axe and work in his stead.

One day while we were there, a prodigious flat fish was seen basking in the sun on the surface of the water near the shore, on which twelve Indians swam off and surrounded him. Finding himself disturbed, the fish dived, and they after him, but he escaped from them at this time. He appeared again in about an hour, when sixteen or seventeen Indians swam off and encompassed him; and, by continually

tormenting

tormenting him, drove him insensibly ashore. On grounding, the force with which he struck the ground with his fins is not to be expressed, neither can I describe the agility with which the Indians strove to dispatch him, lest the surf should set him again afloat, which they at length accomplished with the help of a dagger lent them by Mr Randal. They then cut him into pieces, which were distributed among all who stood by. This fish, though of the flat kind, was very thick, and had a large hideous mouth, being fourteen or fifteen feet broad, but not quite so much in length.

On the 18th August, 1721, we set sail from Porto Leguro, bound for Canton in China, as a likely place for meeting with some English ships, in which we might procure a passage home. Considering the length of the voyage before us, our ship was in a very bad condition, as her sails and rigging were so old and rotten, that if any accident had befallen our masts or sails, we had been reduced to extreme distress and danger, having no change either of sails or ropes; but ours being a case of necessity, we had to run all hazards, and to endeavour, by the utmost attention, to guard against deficiencies which could not be supplied. Having already overcome many difficulties, seemingly insurmountable in prospect, we were full of hope to get over these also, and the pleasing expectation of revisiting our native shores gave us spirits to encounter this tedious navigation in so weak and comfortless a condition. We were now so weakly manned, that we could scarcely have been able to navigate our vessel without the assistance of the negroes, not amounting now to thirty whites, so much had our crew been reduced by untoward accidents.

We discovered an island on the 21st, 110 leagues W. S. W. from Cape St Lucas,[1] but as the wind blew fresh, I could not get nearer than two leagues, and did not think proper to lose time in laying-to in the night. It seemed seven or eight leagues in circumference, having a large bay on its S. W. side, in the middle of which was a high rock. My people named this Shelvocke's island. From hence we shelved down to the latitude of 13° N. but were stopped two or three days by westerly winds, which we did not expect in this sea, especially as being now five or six hundred leagues from the land. The trade-wind again returning, we kept in

[1] Probably La Nablada, in lat. 18° 55′ N. long. 120° 48′ E.

in the parallel of 13° N. except when we judged that we were near the shoals of St Bartholomew, and then haled a degree more to the north, and so continued for sixty or seventy leagues. A fortnight after leaving California, my people, who had hitherto enjoyed uninterrupted health, began to be afflicted with sickness, particularly affecting their stomachs, owing doubtless to the great quantities of sweetmeats they were continually devouring, and also to our common food, chiefly composed of puddings made of coarse flour and sweetmeats, mixed up with sea-water, together with jerked beef, most of which was destroyed by ants, cockroaches, and other vermin. We could not afford to boil the kettle once in the whole passage with fresh water, so that the crew became reduced to a very melancholy state by scurvy and other distempers. The sickness increased upon us every day, so that we once buried two in one day, the armourer and carpenter's mate, besides whom the carpenter, gunner, and several others died, together with some of our best negroes.

The greatest part of my remaining people were disabled, and our ship very leaky; and to add to our misfortunes, one of our pumps split and became useless. Under these unhappy circumstances, we pushed forwards with favourable gales till within 80 leagues of Guam, one of the Ladrones, when we encountered dismal weather and tempestuous winds, veering round the compass. This was the more frightful, as we were unable to help ourselves, not above six or seven being able for duty, though necessity obliged even those who were extremely low and weak to lend what help they could. In the boisterous sea raised by these gales, our ship so laboured that the knee of her head, and her whole beak-head, became loose, so that the boltsprit fetched away and played with every motion of the ship, and so continued all the rest of the time we were at sea. For some time our main-mast stood without larboard shrouds, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old shrouds till our labour was in vain. In the midst of these difficulties, I was taken very ill, and had little expectations of living much longer, till the gout gave me some painful hopes of recovery.

In the beginning of October, we made the island of Guam, 100 leagues short of the account given by Rogers, who makes 105° of longitude between Cape St Lucas and Guam, while

we

we made not quite 100°.[2] We passed through between Guam and Serpana, and saw several flying proas, but none came near us that day. We had heavy and squally weather, which obliged me to keep the deck in the rain, by which I caught a cold, which threw me into a worse condition than before, in which I continued all the time I was in China. Guam seemed very green and of moderate height, and the sight of land was so pleasant after our long run, that we would gladly have stopped to procure some refreshments, but durst not venture in, though on the point of perishing, lest the inhabitants should take advantage of our weakness. From Guam I shaped our course for the island of Formosa, to which we had a long and melancholy voyage, as our sickness daily increased; so that, on the 3d November, when we got sight of that island, both ship and company were almost entirely worn out. Next day we doubled the south Cape of Formosa, passing within a league of the rocks of *Vele-Rete,* where we were sensible of a very strong current. As we passed in sight, the inhabitants of Formosa made continual fires on the coast, as inviting us to land; but we were so weak that we did not deem it prudent to venture into any of their harbours.

We directed our course from Formosa for the neighbouring coast of China, and found ourselves on the 6th at the mouth of the river *Loma,*[3] in twelve fathoms water, but the weather was so hazy that we could not ascertain where we were. Seeing abundance of fishing boats, we tried every method we could think of to induce some of the fishermen to come on board to pilot us to Macao, but found this impracticable, as we could not understand each other. We were therefore obliged to keep the land close on board, and to anchor every evening. This was a prodigious fatigue to our men, who were so universally ill that we could hardly find any one able to steer the ship. We were bewildered in a mist during four days, and much surprised by seeing a great many islands, omitted in our charts, on some of which we saw large fortifications. This made us believe that the current had carried us beyond our port, and occasioned much dejection of spirits; for, though the sea was covered with

[2] Rogers is however nearer the truth, the difference of longitude being 106° 42′ between these two places.—E.

[3] This name is so corrupted as to be unintelligible.—E.

with fishing boats, we could get no one to set us right, or to give us any directions we could understand.

Towards evening of the 10th, as we were passing through a very narrow channel between two islands, a fisherman who was near, and observed by our manner of working that we were afraid to venture through, waved with his cap for us to bring to till he came to us. When he came, he seemed to understand that we enquired for Macao, and made signs that he would carry us there, if we gave him as many pieces of silver as he counted little fish from his basket, which amounted to forty. We accordingly counted out forty dollars into a hat, and gave them to him, on which he came into our ship, and took her in charge, carrying us through the narrow channel, and brought us to anchor at sun-set. We weighed next morning, and kept the coast of China close on board. By noon we were abreast of Pulo Lantoon, whence we could see two English ships under sail, passing the island of Macao on their way from the river of Canton. They kept on their way, taking no notice of us, which struck a damp into our spirits, fearing we should miss a passage for England this season. In the afternoon of next day, we anchored in the road of Macao, near the entrance of Canton river, which we never should have found out by any of our charts.

I was much amazed at the incorrectness with which these coasts are laid down, to the eastwards of Pulo Lantoon; as there runs a cluster of islands for upwards of twenty leagues in that direction, which are not in the least noticed by any of our hydrographers, nor have I ever met with any navigator who knew any thing about them. The coast of China, within these islands, is rocky, mountainous, and barren; but, owing to my heavy sickness, I was unable to make any useful observations.

Section VI.

Residence in China, and Voyage thence to England.

As Macao is the place where ships always stop for a pilot to carry them up the river of Canton, I sent an officer with my compliments to the governor, and with orders to bring off a pilot; but hearing nothing of him till next morning, I was

I was under very great apprehensions. Next morning, a great number of the people belonging to the Success came off to our ship, and acquainted me that Clipperton had left me designedly. About noon this day, the 12th November, 1721, a pilot came off to us, when we immediately weighed anchor, and immediately entered Canton river, being assured that there still were some European ships at Wampoo, about ten miles short of Canton. We were four days in plying up to the road between the tower bars, where we anchored; and, finding the Bonetta and Hastings, two English ships, I sent an officer to request their instructions how to conduct ourselves in this port, and to acquaint us with its customs. They answered, that the Cadogan and Francis, two English European ships, were lying at Wampoo, and advised me to send up to the English factors at Canton, to acquaint them with our arrival, and the reasons which obliged us to come here. This I accordingly did next day, borrowing one of their flags to hoist as our boat, without which we had met with much trouble from the *Hoppo-men*, or custom-house officers. I sent letters to the captains of the English ships, signifying the necessity which forced me to this country, and requesting their succour and protection; assuring them that I acted under his majesty's commission, which also I sent for their perusal. Next morning, being the 17th, I weighed and worked up to Wampoo, where, besides the two English ships, I found three belonging to France, one Ostender, and a small ship from Manilla.

I was here in hopes of all my troubles being at an end, and that I should have full leisure for rest and refreshment after my many and great fatigues; but I soon found these expectations ill grounded, and after all my perils, that I was fallen into others least to be endured, as proceeding from false brethren. A most unlucky accident happened the very evening that we anchored at Wampoo, which gave birth to all the troubles I encountered in India; though, in respect to me, both unforeseen and unavoidable, and purely the effects of that eagerness in the ship's company to get out of this part of the world at any rate. Had there been any government among the English settled here, to have supported my authority, this unlucky business had never happened; and, as it was, could only be imputed to nothing but the want of such an establishment. One of my men, named David Griffith, being in a hurry to remove his effects

fects into the Bonetta's boat, in which he was chased by a *Hoppo* or custom-house boat; and being a little in liquor, and fearing to lose his silver, fired a musket and killed the Hoppo-man or custom-house officer. Early next morning, the dead body was laid at the door of the English factory, where Chinese officers lay in wait to seize the first Englishman that should come out. A supercargo belonging to the Bonetta happened to be the first; he was immediately seized and carried off, and afterwards led in chains about the suburbs of Canton. All that could be said or done by the most considerable Chinese merchants who were in correspondence with the English, was of no avail. In the mean time, my man, who had slain the Chinese officer, and another, were put in irons aboard the Francis, which was *chopped*, or seized, till the guilty man was delivered up. He was then carried to Canton in chains, and the supercargo was released.

I had not been here many days, when I was deserted by all my officers and men, who were continually employed in removing their effects from my ship to some of the European ships, without my knowledge, I being then confined to bed. My officers were using all their efforts to engage the gentlemen belonging to the company in their interest, and had only left my son and a few negroes to look after the ship, and to defend my effects, which were on the brink of falling into the bottomless pit of Chinese avarice; besides, they and the ship's company had so many ways of disposing of every thing they could lay their hands on, that I found it impossible to oblige them to do what I thought justice to our owners: They all soon recovered from their illness, and they all became their own masters. There were no magistrates for me to appeal to on shore, who would aid me so far as to compel them to remain in my ship; and the officers commanding the English ships could not afford me the help they might have been inclined to give, lest the supercargoes might represent their conduct to the East India Company. And these last, who superintend the English trade at this port, seemed even inclined to have refused me a passage in one of their ships, and even treated me as one enemy would treat another in a neutral port; looking on me in that light for presuming to come within the limits of the Company, without considering the necessity by which I had been compelled to take that step.

When

When Captains Hill and Newsham came to visit me, they were astonished at the ruinous condition of my ship, and could scarcely think it possible for her to have made so long a passage. The rottenness of her cordage, and the raggedness of her sails, filled them with surprise and pity for my condition. When I had given them a short history of the voyage, and requested they would receive my officers and company, with their effects, they at once said, That they saw plainly my ship was in no condition to be carried any farther, and they were willing to receive us all as soon as we pleased, on payment of our passage. But the supercargoes were displeased that I had not applied to them, as they are the chief men here, though only passengers when aboard; so that I was quite neglected, and the English captains were ordered to fall down with their ships five or six miles below where I lay. I was thus left destitute in the company of five foreign ships; yet their officers, seeing me deserted by my countrymen, kindly offered me their services, and assisted me as much as they could, and without them I know not what might have been my fate, as I was under perpetual apprehensions that the Chinese would have seized my ship.

After the murder of the custom-house officer seemed to have been quite forgotten, a magistrate, called a *Little Mandarin*, committed the following outrageous action:—At the beginning of the troubles, occasioned by that murder, he had received orders to apprehend all the English he could find, which he neglected till all was over. He then one day, while passing the European factories, ordered his attendants to seize on all the English he could see in the adjoining shops, and took hold of nine or ten, French as well as English, whom he carried, with halters about their necks, to the palace of the *Chantock*, or viceroy. Application was then made to the *Hoppo*, or chief customer, who represented matters to the viceroy in favour of the injured Europeans; on which the mandarin was sent for, and being unable to vindicate himself, was degraded from his post, subjected to the bamboo, a severe punishment, and rendered incapable of acting again as a magistrate; the Europeans being immediately liberated. It appears to me, however, that the English are tyrannized over by the Chinese, and exposed to the caprices of every magistrate, wherefore I was the more urgent to be on board one of the European ships. I had now discovered my error in addressing the captains, and now sent a letter to the supercargoes,

percargoes, demanding a passage for myself, my officers, and ship's company, which I was sensible they could not refuse: but their compliance was clogged with a charge to the captains not to receive any thing belonging to us, unless consigned to the company in England.

The hoppo now made a demand upon me for anchorage in the river, amounting to no less than 6000 *tahel*, and, to quicken the payment, annexed a penalty to this extortion of 500 *tahel* for every day the payment was delayed. There were no means to avoid this gross imposition; and though a day necessarily elapsed before I could send up the money, I had to add the penalty of that day, so that he received 6500 *tahel*, or L. 2166 : 13 : 4 sterling;* being about six times as much as was paid for the Cadogan, the largest English ship there at the time, and which measured a third larger than mine. I soon after sold my ship for 2000 tahel, or L. 666, 13s. 4d. sterling, which money was consigned to the India Company, along with all the rest of my effects, and I prevailed on most of my officers and men to take their passage in the English homeward-bound ships.

Considering my short stay in China, and my bad health, I cannot be expected to give any tolerable account of this place from my own observation, and to copy others would be inconsistent with the purpose of this narrative, so that I shall only observe, that the English, at this time, had no settled factory at Canton, being only permitted to hire large houses, called *hongs*, with convenient warehouses adjoining, for receiving their goods previous to their shipment. For these they pay rent to the proprietors, and either hire the same or others, as they think proper, next time they have occasion for the accommodation.

Notwithstanding my utmost diligence, the business I was engaged in kept me in a continual hurry till the ships were ready to depart, which was in December, 1721: At which time, heartily tired of the country, and the ill usage I had met with, I sailed in the Cadogan, Captain John Hall, in company with the Francis, Captain Newsham; and as the latter ship sailed much better than the Cadogan, she left us immediately after getting out to sea. Finding his ship very tender, or crank, Captain Hill put in at Batavia, to get her into better trim. We continued here about ten days; but I can

* At these proportions, the Chinese *tahel* is exactly 6s. 8d. sterling.—E.

I can say little about that place, being all the time unable to stand on my legs, and was only twice out in a coach to take the air, two or three miles out of the city, in which little excursion I saw a great variety of beautiful prospects of fine country seats and gardens, and, indeed, every thing around shewed the greatest industry. The buildings in the city are generally very handsome, and laid out in very regular streets, having canals running through most of them, with trees planted on each side, so that Batavia may justly be called a fine city: But the sight is the only sense that is gratified here, for the canals smell very offensively when the tide is low, and breed vast swarms of muskitoes, which are more troublesome here than in any place I was ever in.

A great part of the inhabitants of Batavia are Chinese, who are remarkable for wearing there their ancient dress, having their hair rolled up in such a manner that there is little difference in that respect between the men and women. Ever since the revolution in China, which brought that country under the Tartar yoke, the Tartarian dress has been imposed upon the whole kingdom, which was not effected without great bloodshed: For many of the Chinese were so superstitiously attached to their ancient modes, that they unaccountably chose rather to lose their lives than their hair; as the Tartar fashion is to shave the head, except a long lock on the crown, which they plait in the same manner we do. The Dutch, taking advantage of this superstitious attachment of the Chinese to their hair, exact from all the men who live under their protection, a poll-tax of a dollar a month for the liberty of wearing their hair, which produces a very considerable revenue.

Hearing at Batavia that there were several pirates in these seas, Captain Hill joined the Dutch homeward-bound fleet in Bantam bay, and the Dutch commodore promised to assist Captain Hill in wooding and watering at *Mew* island, the water at Batavia being very bad. We fell in with the Francis in the Straits of Sunda, though we imagined that ship had been far a-head. The Dutch made this a pretence for leaving us before we got to Mew island, and Captain Newsham also deserted us, so that we were left alone. We continued six or seven days at Mew island, during which time several boats came to us from Prince's island, and brought us turtle, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, and other fruits. From *Mew* island we had a very pleasant voyage to and

about

about the Cape of Good Hope. By the good management of Captain Hill, although the Francis and the Dutch ships had the start of us seven days, by deserting us in the Straits of Sunda, we yet got to the cape seven days before the Francis, though she sailed considerably better than we. By comparing notes with the officers of the Francis, we found that she had suffered a good deal of bad weather off the south of Africa, while we, by keeping about ten leagues nearer shore, continually enjoyed pleasant weather and a fair wind, till we anchored in Table Bay, which we did towards the end of March, 1722.

We here found Governor Boon and others, bound for England in the London Indiaman. We had a pleasant voyage from the cape to St Helena, and thence to England, arriving off the Land's-end towards the close of July. On coming into the British channel we had brisk gales from the west, with thick foggy weather. In the evening of the 30th July we anchored under Dungeness, and that same night some of the supercargoes and passengers, among whom I was one, hired a small vessel to carry us to Dover, where we arrived the next morning early. The same day we proceeded for London, and arrived there on the 1st August, 1722. Thus ended a long, fatiguing, and unfortunate voyage, of *three years, seven months, and eleven days*, in which I had sailed considerably more than round the circumference of the globe, and had undergone a great variety of troubles and hardships by sea and land.

SECTION VII.

Supplement to the foregoing Voyage.

IN the Collection of Harris, besides interweaving several controversial matters respecting this voyage, from an account of it by one Betagh, who was captain of marines in the Speedwell, a long series of remarks on the conduct of Shelvocke by that person, are appended. Neither of these appear to possess sufficient interest, at this distance of time, almost a century, to justify their insertion in our collection, where they would have very uselessly occupied a considerable space. Captain Betagh appears to have been actuated by violen animosity against Captain Shelvocke, whose actions he tra duced and misrepresented with the utmost malignity, be

cause the innocent cause of his having suffered captivity among the Spaniards in South America, of which some account will be found in the subsequent section. Of all these charges, we have only deemed it expedient to insert the following statement of the circumstances connected with the capture of the Conception, as related by Betagh, which Harris, I. 230, characterizes as "a very extraordinary piece of secret history, and seemingly supported by evidence;" but at this distance of time we have no means of ascertaining to which side the truth belongs.—*Ed.*

"This being the great crisis of the voyage, I shall be more particular in relating the affair of this last prize. This ship was named the Conception, Don *Stephen de Recova* commander,[1] bound from Calao to Panama, having on board several persons of distinction, particularly the Conde de la Rosa, who had been some time governor of Pisco, and was now going to Spain, laden with flour, sugar, marmalade, *et cetera.* Now, be it known to all men, that the *et cetera* was 108,636 pieces of eight, or Spanish dollars: And Shelvocke little thought, when he took this prize, or compiled his book, that I, of all men, should have the exact state of this affair. He often said that he would give the gentlemen owners a fair account; and I have often promised to prove that he did say so. We have now both made our words good, and I have not only an authentic account, but I will also declare how I got it.

"When I was carried prisoner to Lima, I had sufficient leisure to reflect on my misfortunes, and how likely I was to be ruined and the owners cheated; wherefore, to prepare them to defend their just rights, I wrote to one of them the substance of what had occurred to me; how Shelvocke had mismanaged; how arbitrarily he had acted in defiance of their articles, and what were his private intentions in the latter part of the voyage. As soon as I came to London, which was in October, 1721, I confirmed the report of my letter with several new circumstances; for all which performance of my duty, it is, as I suppose, that my name has met with so much reproach in Captain Shelvocke's book. But, besides my advices, the gentlemen owners had many proofs from prisoners and other people. Eleven months after me, being

[1] Shelvocke, who certainly ought to have known best, names the ship the Conception de Recova, and her commander Don Joseph Desorio.—E.

being August, 1722, Shelvocke himself arrived, and immediately waited on the gentlemen in the lump for all his transactions; not owning any thing of this prize, which he had unlawfully shared, with every thing else, among twenty-three of his men. Instead of compromising the matter, the gentlemen read him a letter, secured him, and had him the same day confined in *Wood-street Compter.* A few days after, his pupil, Stewart, arrived at Dover, and was seized by the honest warden of the castle, according to directions, securing also his book of accounts, and brought it along with the prisoner to the owners, from whom I had the book, and copied from it the following statement of the dividends:—

Names.	*Quality.*	*Numb. of Shares*	*Dollars.*	*Eng. Money.*
George Shelvocke . .	Captain . .	6	14,325	2642 10 0
Samuel Rundal . .	Lieutenant .	$2\frac{1}{2}$		
John Rainer . . .	Cap. Marines	$2\frac{1}{2}$		
Blowfield Coldsea .	Master . .	$2\frac{1}{2}$	4718	1100 17 4 each.
Nicholas Adams . .	Surgeon . .	$2\frac{1}{2}$		
Mathew Stewart . .	First mate .	2		
Monsieur La Porte .	Second mate	2		
George Henshall . .	Boatswain .	2	3775	880 16 8 each.
Robert Davenport .	Carpenter .	2		
William Clark . .	Gunner . .	2		
James Daniel . . .	Midshipman .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
David Griffith . . .	Ditto . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
Christopher Hawkins	Ditto . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
Oliver Lefevre . .	Sail-maker .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
John Doydge . . .	Surgeon's mate	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2830	660 0 0 each.
William Morgan . .	Ditto . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
John Popplestone .	Armourer . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
James Moyett . .	Cooper . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
John Pearson . . .	Carpenter's mate	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
Geo. Shelvocke, jun.		$1\frac{1}{2}$		
William Clement .	Able seaman .	1		
John Norris . . .	Ditto . . .	1		
James Moulville . .	Ditto . . .	1		
George Gill . . .	Ditto . . .	1		
Peter Fero	Ditto . . .	1	$1887\frac{1}{4}$	440 7 2 each.
John Smith . . .	Ditto . . .	1		
Edward Alcocke . .	Ditto . . .	1		
John Theobald . .	Barber . . .	1		
William Burrows . .	Old seaman .	$\frac{3}{4}$		
Daniel M'Donald .	Ditto . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$		
Richard Croft . . .	Ditto . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$		
John Robbins . . .	Grommet, or boy	$\frac{1}{2}$	$943\frac{3}{4}$	220 4 2 each.
Benedict Harry . .	Cook . . .	$\frac{1}{3}$		
33 persons in all.		$52\frac{1}{4}$	$98,604\frac{2}{3}$	23,007 15 6

"The

"The reader will perceive that the sum total of this dividend falls short of what I said the capture amounted to; but, in order to set that matter right, there is a secret article of 627 quadruples of gold, which Shelvocke graciously shared among private friends, each quadruple, or double doubloon, being worth sixteen dollars each, or L. 3 : 14 : 8 sterling, at 4s. 8d. the dollar. The value of these is 10,032 dollars, which added to the sum of the foregoing account, make 108,636¼ dollars, or L. 25,348 : 11 : 6 sterling in all. Which large sum of money Shelvocke had the prodigious modesty to conceal, under the mysterious *et cetera.* Stewart's book mentions the double doubloons, but says not a word as to how they were distributed, so that we may imagine they were sunk between the two Shelvockes and Stewart: For, as Stewart was agent, cashier, and paymaster, it was an easy matter to hide a bag of gold from the public, and to divide it afterwards in a committee of two or three."—*Betagh.*

SECTION VIII.

Appendix to Shelvocke's Voyage round the World. Containing Observations on the Country and Inhabitants of Peru, by Captain Betagh. [1]

INTRODUCTION.

THIS article may rather seem misplaced, as here inserted among the circumnavigations; but, both as having arisen out of the voyage of Shelvocke, and because arranged in this manner by Harris, it has been deemed proper and necessary to preserve it in this place, where it may be in a great measure considered as a supplement to the preceding voyage. In the opinion of Harris, "The time that Betagh lived among the Spaniards in Peru, and the manner in which he was treated by them, gave him an opportunity of acquainting himself with their manners and customs, and with the nature and maxims of their government, such as no Englishman had possessed; and the lively manner in which he tells his story, gives it much beauty and spirit." We have already seen, in the narrative of Shelvocke, the occasion

[1] Harris, I. 240.

occasion of Betagh separating from his commander, along with Hately and a complement of men in the Mercury, on which occasion Shelvocke alleged that they purposely separated from him, in consequence of taking a prize containing 150,000 dollars. In the following narrative, Betagh tells his own story very differently, and we do not presume to determine between them. The separation of Shelvocke originally from his own superior officer, Clipperton, is not without suspicion; and Hately and Betagh may have learnt from their commander, to endeavour to promote their own individual interests, at the expense of their duty, already weakened by bad example.—*Ed.*

§ 1. *Particulars of the Capture of the Mercury by the Spaniards.*

It was in the beginning of the year 1720, about the middle of March, when Captain Shelvocke sent Hately and the rest of us to seek our fortunes in the lighter called the Mercury. He then went in the Speedwell to plunder the village of Payta, where we might easily have joined him, had he been pleased to have imparted his design to us. We had not cruized long off Cape Blanco, when we took a small bark, having a good quantity of flour and chocolate. There were also on board an elderly lady, and a thin old friar, whom we detained two or three days; and, after taking out what could be of use to us, we discharged the bark and them. Soon after this we took the Pink, which Shelvocke calls the rich prize. Her people had no suspicion of our being an enemy, and held on their way till they saw the Mercury standing towards them, and then began to suspect us; on which, about noon, they clapt their helm hard a-weather, and crowded all sail before the wind; and, being in ballast, this was her best sailing, yet proved also the greatest advantage they could have given us; for, had she held her wind, our flat-bottomed vessel could never have got up with theirs. About ten o'clock at night, with the assistance of hard rowing, we got up within shot of the chase, and made her bring to, when pretty near the shore. On boarding the prize, in which were about seventy persons, thirty of whom were negroes, Hately left me and Pressick in the Mercury, with other four, where we continued two or three days, till a heavy

a heavy rain spoiled all our bread and other dry provisions. We then went on board the prize, sending three men to take charge of the Mercury.

After this, we stood off and on in the height of Cape Blanco for seven or eight days, expecting to meet with the Speedwell; and at that place we sent ashore the Spanish Captain, a padre or priest, and some gentlemen passengers. At last we espied a sail plying to windward; and, having no doubt that she was either the Speedwell or the Success, we stood towards her, while she also edged down towards us. About ten in the morning we were near enough to make her out to be a ship of war, but neither of these we wished for. The master of our prize had before informed us, that he had fallen in with the *Brilliante*, which was cruizing for our privateers, and we had till now entirely disregarded his information. Upon this, Hately advised with me what we ought to do in this emergency, when we agreed to endeavour to take advantage of the information given us by the Spaniards; considering, as the Brilliante had spoken so very lately with the Pink, that there might not be many questions asked now. Accordingly, Hately and I dressed ourselves like Spaniards, and hoisted Spanish colours, confined all our prisoners in the great cabin, and allowed none but Indians and negroes to appear on the deck, that the Pink might have the same appearance as before. We had probably succeeded in this contrivance, but for the obstinacy of John Sprake, one of our men, whom we could not persuade to keep off the deck. As the Brilliante came up, she fired a gun to leeward, on which we lowered our topsail, going under easy sail till we got alongside. The first question asked was, If we had seen the English privateer? We answered, No. The next question was, How we had got no farther on our way to Lima? To which we answered, By reason of the currents. To two or three other questions, we answered satisfactorily in Spanish, and they were getting their tacks aboard in order to leave us, when Sprake and two or three more of our men appeared on the main deck. A Frenchman aboard the Brilliante, who was on the mast-head, seeing their long trowsers, called out, *Par Dieu, Monsieur, ils sont Anglois*, By Heaven, Sir, they are English: Upon which they immediately fired a broad-side into us, with round and partridge shot, by one of which Hately was slightly wounded in the leg.

As

As soon as we struck our flag, the enemy sent for all the English on board their ships, and ordered two of their own officers into our prize. The Brilliante then bore down on the Mercury, into which she fired at least twenty-five shot, which bored her sides through and through: Yet such was the construction of that extraordinary vessel, that, though quite full of water, there was not weight enough to sink her, and our three men who were in her remained unhurt. Don Pedro Midrando, the Spanish commander, ordered these three men into his own ship, in which he intended to sail for Payta. As for me, he gave directions that I should be sent forty miles up the country, to a place called *Piura*, and was so kind as to leave Mr Pressick the surgeon, and my serjeant Cobbs, to bear me company. Mr Hately and the rest of our men were ordered to Lima by land, a journey of four hundred miles.[2] Hately had the misfortune to be doubly under the displeasure of the Spaniards: First, for returning into these seas after having been long their prisoner, and being well used among them: And, second, for having stripped the Portuguese captain at Cape Frio of a good quantity of moidores, which were now found upon him. Don Pedro proposed to have this business searched to the bottom, and the guilty severely punished, without exposing the innocent to any danger.

§ 2. *Observations made by Betagh in the North of Peru.*

LEAVING Mr Hately for the present, I proceed to the observations I made on the road, as the admiral was so good as send me up into the country, till his return from Payta. As the weather in this part of the world is much too hot to admit of any labour in the middle of the day, the custom is to travel only from six in the evening till eight next morning. My Indian guide set me on the best mule he had, which did not think proper to follow the rest, so that I led my fellow-travellers while day lasted. The whole country through

[2] Lima is above six hundred miles from Cape Blanco, and Piura is about seventy-five miles from the same place. Betagh gives no account of the place where he landed; but forty miles northwards from Piura would only carry him to the north side of the bay of Payta; and, as he makes no mention of passing any river, he was probably landed on the south side of the river Amatape or Chira.—E.

through which we travelled was an open plain, having Indian plantations laid out with tolerable regularity, on both sides of us. This champaign country is from thirty to an hundred miles broad, and extends three hundred miles along shore; and I was travelling to the southward, having the Cordelieras, or mountains of the Andes, on my left hand, and the great Pacific Ocean to the right. As the soil is good and fertile, this land would be as fine a country as any in the world, if well watered; but travellers are here obliged to carry water for their mules as well as themselves. At the approach of night, I was much puzzled to find the way, my mule still persisting to go foremost, being often stopped by great sand hills, and my mule as often endeavoured to pull the reins out of my hand. This being very troublesome, the Indians advised me to lay the reins on the mule's neck, and on doing that the creature easily hit the way. These sand hills often shift from place to place, which I suppose is occasioned by strong eddy winds, reverberated from the mountains.

We rested at night in an old empty house, about half way, which the guide told me was built by the inhabitants of Piura, for the accommodation of the prince of San Bueno, viceroy of Peru, when they met and regaled him at his entrance on his government. After a short rest, we continued our journey, and arrived at Piura, a handsome regularly built town, on the banks of the river *Callan* or *Piura*. The Indian conducted us to the house of an honest Spanish gentleman and his wife, to whose charge he committed us, and then returned to Payta. In less than a quarter of an hour, the inhabitants of the town flocked to see us, as a raree-show, and entertained us with respect and civility, instead of using us as prisoners of war. The gentleman to whose charge we were committed was named Don Jeronimo Baldivieso, who had five daughters, who received us in so benevolent a manner, that we hoped our time would slide easily away, and our captivity prove no way disagreeable; and I now became sensible of the favour shewn me by Don Pedro in sending me to this place; for he had such interest in all Peru, that for his sake we found very good treatment.

After refreshing ourselves, according to the custom of the country, with chocolate, biscuit, and water, we were serenaded by the sound of a harp from some inner apartment, of

of which instrument the artist seemed to have a good command, as I heard parts of several famous compositions, both Italian and English. Upon enquiry, I found that all Don Jeronimo's daughters had learnt music, and sung or played upon some instrument. Though this seemed unaccountable at first, I afterwards found that music was much cultivated in Peru. During the prevalence of the Italian party at the court of Madrid, the last viceroy of Peru, the prince of San Bueno, who was an Italian, brought a great many musicians to that country along with him, by whom the taste for music had spread every where, and had become as good in Peru as in old Spain. I the rather notice this, because, by our being lovers of music, and behaving peaceably and civilly to the inhabitants, we passed our time quietly and chearfully. We were only exposed to one inconvenience, which lasted all the time we remained here: which was, the daily assembling of the people to stare at us. I and my sergeant Cobbs, being used to exercise in public, bore this pretty well; but Mr Pressick, being a grave man, at first hung down his head, and was very melancholy. But he grew better acquainted with the people by degrees, and came to like them so well, that we had much ado to get him away, when it became necessary for us to remove our quarters.

Almost all the commodities of Europe are distributed through Spanish America by a sort of pedlars, or merchants who travel on foot. These men come from Panama to Payta by sea; and in their road from Payta to Lima, make Piura their first stage, disposing of their goods, and lessening their burdens, as they go along. From Piura, some take the inland road by Caxamarca, and others the road along the coast through Truxillo. From Lima they take their passage back to Panama by sea, perhaps carrying with them a small adventure of brandy. At Panama they again stock themselves with European goods, and return by sea to Payta. Here they hire mules to carry their goods, taking Indians along with them to guide the mules and carry them back: And in this way these traders keep a continual round, till they have gained a sufficiency to live on. Their travelling expenses are next to nothing; as the Indians are under such entire subjection to the Spaniards, that they always find them in lodgings free, and provide them with provender for their mules. All this every white man may command, being an homage the Indians have long been accustomed

tomed to, and some think themselves honoured into the bargain. Yet out of generosity, they sometimes meet with a small recompense. Among the British and French, a pedlar is despised, and his employment is considered as a very mean shift for getting a living: But it is quite otherwise here, where the quick return of money is a sufficient excuse for the manner in which it is gained; and there are many gentlemen in old Spain, in declining circumstances, who send their sons to what they call *the Indies,* to retrieve their fortunes in this way.

Our lodging while at Piura was in an out-house, which had been built on purpose for accommodating such travelling merchants. Every day, according to the Spanish custom, our dinner was served up under covers, and we eat at the same table with Don Jeronimo; while the good lady of the house and her daughters sat in another room. Any strong liquors are only used during dinner: And I think the only circumstance in our conduct that any way disobliged our good host, was once seeing me drink a dram with the doctor, at a small eating-house; and, as nothing is more offensive to the Spaniards than drunkenness, I had much ado to apologise for this step. Yet they admit of gallantry in the utmost excess, thus only exchanging one enormity for another.

After remaining about six weeks at Piura, our Indian guide came to conduct us to Payta, to which place the Brilliante had returned. When about to take leave, Mr Pressick our surgeon was not to be found, which detained us a day. They had concealed him in the town, meaning to have kept him there, being a very useful man; and if he could have had a small chest of medicines, he might soon have made a handsome fortune. Next day, however, we mounted our mules, and parted reluctantly with our kind host and his family. We went on board the Brilliante at Payta, which had done nothing at sea since we left her, and now made a sort of cruizing voyage to Calao, the port of Lima. I have already mentioned the civility I received from Don Pedro Midranda, who was admiral or general of the South Seas; and I shall here add one circumstance to the honour of Monsieur de Grange, a captain under the general. When taken by the Brilliante, the soldiers stripped us, considering our clothes as the usual perquisite of conquerors; on which that gentleman generously gave me a hand-

a handsome suit of clothes, two pair of silk stockings, shirts, a hat and wig, and every thing accordant, so that I was rather a gainer by this accident.

§ 3. *Voyage from Payta to Lima, and Account of the English Prisoners at that place.*

Our voyage to Lima occupied about five weeks; and, immediately on our arrival, we were committed to the same prison in which the rest of the ship's company were confined, except Mr Hately, who, for reasons formerly assigned, was confined by himself, and very roughly treated. A short time after our arrival, commissioners were appointed to hear our cause, and to determine whether we were to be treated as criminals, or as prisoners of war. We were charged with piracy, not solely for what we had done in the South Seas in plundering the Spaniards, but for having used the like violence against other nations, before our arrival in that sea, from which they proposed to infer that we had evinced a piratical disposition in the whole of our conduct. Of this they thought they had sufficient proof in the moidores found upon Hately, as they appeared to have been taken from the subjects of a prince in amity with our sovereign. Happily for us, Don Diego Morsilio, the viceroy, who was an archbishop in the decline of life, was pleased to investigate this matter; and finding only one of us guilty, would not sign an order for taking away the lives of the innocent. Some were for sending Hatley to the mines for life, and others for hanging him: But the several accounts of the vile proceedings of Captain Shelvocke contributed to his deliverance, of the truth of which circumstance, there were enough of our people at Lima to witness; for, besides Lieutenant Sergeantson and his men, who were brought thither, there came also the men whom Shelvocke sent along with Hopkins to shift for themselves in an empty bark, who were forced to surrender themselves to the Indians for want of sustenance; so that the court were satisfied that Shelvocke was the principal in that piratical act, rather than Hately. Considering that we had all been sufficiently punished before our arrival at Lima, they thought fit to let us all go by degrees. Hately was kept in irons about a twelvemonth, and was then allowed to return to England. I was more fortunate, as my imprisonment lasted

lasted only a fortnight, owing to the interposition of one Captain Fitzgerald, a gentleman born in France, who had great interest with the viceroy, and became security for me, on which I was allowed my liberty in the city, provided I were forthcoming when called for.

Among my first enquiries was into the condition of other English prisoners at this place. I learnt from Lieutenant Sergeantson and his men, who were here before us, that most of them had adopted the religion of the country, had been christened, and were dispersed among the convents of the city. The first of these I met had his catechism in one hand, and a large string of beads dangling in the other. I smiled, and asked him how he liked it? He said, very well; for having a religion to chuse, he thought theirs better than none, especially as it brought him good meat and drink, and a quiet life. Many of Shelvocke's men followed this example, and I may venture to say, that most of them had the same substantial reason for their conversion. It is here reckoned very meritorious to make a convert, and many arguments were used for that purpose, but no rigorous measures were used to bring any one over to their way of thinking. Those who consented to be baptized, generally had some of the merchants of Lima for their patrons and god-fathers, who never failed to give them a good suit of clothes, and some money to drink their healths.

About this time four or five of Clipperton's men had leave from the convents where they resided, to meet together at a public-house kept by one John Bell, an Englishman, who had a negro wife, who had been made free for some service or other. The purpose of this meeting was merely to confirm their new baptism over a bowl of punch; but they all got drunk and quarrelled, and, forgetting they were true catholics, they demolished the image of some honest saint that stood in a corner, mistaking him for one of their companions. Missing them for a few days, I enquired at Bell what was become of them, when he told me they were all in the Inquisition; for the thing having taken air, he was obliged to go himself to complain of their behaviour, but he got them released a few days after, when they had time to repent and get sober in the dungeons of the holy office. Bell said, if these men had remained heretics, their drunken exploit had not come within the verge of the ecclesiastical power; but as they were novices, they were the easier par-

doned,

doned, their outrages on the saint being attributed to the liquor, and not to any designed affront to the catholic faith, or a relapse into heresy.

Some time afterwards, about a dozen of our men from the Success and Speedwell were sent to Calao, to assist in careening and fitting out the Flying-fish, designed for Europe. They here entered into a plot to run away with the Margarita, a good sailing ship which lay in the harbour, meaning to have gone for themselves, in which of course they would have acted as pirates. Not knowing what to do for ammunition and a compass, they applied to Mr Sergeantson, pretending they meant to steal away to Panama, where there was an English factory, and whence they had hopes of getting home. They said they had got half a dozen firelocks, with which they might be able to kill wild hogs or other game, as they went along, and begged him to help them to some powder and shot, and a compass to steer their way through the woods. By begging and making catholic signs to the people in Lima, they had collected some dollars, which they desired Sergeantson to lay out for them; and he, not mistrusting their plot, bought them what they wanted. Thus furnished, one of them came to me at Lima, and told me their intention, and that Sprake was to have the command, as being the only one among them who knew any thing of navigation. I answered, that it was a bold design; but as Captain Fitzgerald had engaged for my honour, I could not engage in it. Their plot was discovered a few days after, their lodgings searched, their arms taken away, and they were committed to prison. The government was much incensed against them, and had nearly determined upon their execution; but they were soon all released except Sprake, who was the ringleader, and was kept in irons for two or three months, and then set at liberty.

The dominions belonging to the Spaniards in America are so large and valuable, that, if well governed, they might render that monarchy exceedingly formidable. In my long stay in Peru, I had the means of examining at leisure, and with attention, their manner of living, the form of their government, and many other circumstances little known in our part of the world, and had many opportunities of enquiring into things minutely, which did not fall under my immediate observation; and of which I propose to give as clear and accurate an account as I can, constantly distinguishing between

tween what fell under my own immediate knowledge, and what I received from the information of others.

§ 4. *Description of Lima, and some Account of the Government of Peru.*

THE great and rich city of Lima is the metropolis of Peru, and the seat of an archbishop. It is all regularly built, the streets being all straight and spacious, dividing the whole into small squares. It stands in an open vale, through which runs a gentle stream, dividing the city in two, as the Thames does London from Southwark. Calao is the port of Lima, from whence it is about seven miles distant. Because of the frequent earthquakes, the houses are only of one story, and generally twelve or fourteen feet high. It contains eight parish churches, three colleges for students, twenty-eight monasteries of friars, and thirteen nunneries, so that the religious occupy a fourth part of the city; yet, by the quick and plentiful flow of money, and the vast sums bequeathed through the effects of celibacy, they are well endowed. Besides these, there are two hospitals for sick, poor, and disabled; and in which several of our men were kindly looked after. The length of the city from north to south is two miles, and its breadth one and a half; its whole circumference, including the wall and the river, being six miles. The other, or smaller part of the city, is to the east of the river, over which there is a handsome stone bridge of seven arches. Including all sorts and colours, I computed that the whole population of Lima amounted to between sixty and seventy thousand persons; and I should not wonder at any multiplication in this city, as it is the centre of so much affluence and pleasure. Besides the natural increase of the inhabitants, all ships that trade this way, whether public or private, generally leave some deserters, who remain behind in consequence of the encouragement given to all white faces.

The people here are perhaps the most expensive in their habits of any in the world. The men dress nearly as in England, their coats being either of silk, fine English cloth, or camblets, embroidered or laced with gold or silver, and their waistcoats usually of the richest brocades. The women wear no stays or hoops, having only a stitched holland jacket next their shifts, and they generally wear a square piece

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piece of swansdown flannel thrown over their shoulders, entirely covered with Flanders lace, and have their petticoats adorned with gold or silver lace. When they walk out, the creole women are mostly veiled, but not the mulattoes; and, till thirty or forty years of age, they wear no head-clothes, their hair being tied behind with fine ribbons. The pride of the ladies chiefly appears in fine Mechlin or Brussels lace, with which they trim their linen in a most extravagant manner, not omitting even their sheets and pillows. Their linen jackets are double bordered with it, both at top and bottom, with four or five ruffles or furbelows hanging down to their knees. They are very extravagant also in pearls and precious stones, in rings, bracelets, and necklaces, though the value of these is hardly equal to the shew.

The viceroy has a splendid palace in the royal square, or great quadrangle of the city, which seemed as large as Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. His salary is ten thousand pounds a-year, but his perquisites amount to double that sum. And though his government expires at the end of three, four, or five years, he generally makes a handsome fortune, as all places are in his gift, both in the government and the army throughout all Peru, except such as are sent out or nominated by the king. The great court of justice consists of twelve judges, besides a number of inferior officers, councillors, and solicitors. Before this court all causes are decided, but they are too often determined in favour of the party who gives most money. And, though these vast dominions abound in riches, there is not much work for the lawyers, as the laws are few and plain, which certainly is much better than a multiplicity of laws, explaining one another till they become so intricate that the issue of a cause depends more on the craft of the solicitor and advocate, than on its justice. Every magistrate in this country knows that his reign is short, and that he will be laughed at if he does not make a fortune, so that they wink at each other; and, so great is the distance between Spain and Peru, that the royal orders are seldom regarded, being two years in going backward and forward: Hence arise many clandestine doings. According to law, the king ought to have a twentieth part of all the gold, and a fifth of all the silver procured from the mines; but vast quantities are carried away privately, without paying any duty, both north by Panama, and south through the Straits of Magellan. There are also vast sums allowed for the militia,

litia, the garrisons, and the repairs of fortifications, one half of which are never applied to these objects. Hence it may easily be imagined what immense riches would flow into the treasury of Madrid, if his catholic majesty were faithfully served.

The country of Peru is naturally subject to earthquakes. About fifty years before I was there, or about the year 1670, there were two great ones at Lima, which overturned many houses, churches, and convents. And in the reign of Charles II. the late king of Spain, there was an earthquake near the equator, which lifted up whole fields, carrying them to the distance of several miles. Small shocks are often felt which do no harm, and I have been often called out of bed on such occasions, and heard nothing more about the matter; but on these occasions the bells always toll to prayers. Yet, although this country has suffered much from earthquakes, especially near the coast, their churches are lofty and neatly built. Such parts of their buildings as require strength are made of burnt bricks; but their dwelling-houses are all constructed of bamboos, canes, and bricks only dried in the sun, which are sufficiently durable, as it never rains in Peru. Instead of roofs, they are merely covered over with mats, on which ashes are strewed, to keep out the dews. The small river of Lima, or *Runac*, consists mostly of snow-water from the neighbouring mountains, which are covered all the year with snow, that partly dissolves in the summer-season, from September to March.

One would expect the weather to be much hotter here; but there is no proportion between the heat of this part of America and the same latitudes in Africa. This is owing to two causes; that the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains diffuses a cool temperature of the air all around; and the constant humid vapours, which are so frequent that I often expected it to rain when I first went to Lima. These vapours are not so dense, low, and gloomy, like our fogs, nor yet are they separated above like our summer clouds; but an exhalation between both, spread all around, as when we say the day is overcast, so that sometimes a fine dew is felt on the upper garments, and may even be discerned on the knap of the cloth. This is a prodigious convenience to the inhabitants of Lima, who are thus screened half the day from the sun; and though it often shines out in the afternoon, yet is the heat very tolerable, being tempered by the sea-breezes, and

and not near so hot as at Lisbon and some parts of Spain, more than thirty degrees farther from the equator.

The entire want of rain in this country induced the Indians, even before the conquest, to construct canals and drains for leading water from among the distant mountains, which they have done with great skill and labour, so as to irrigate and refresh the vallies, by which they produce grass and corn, and a variety of fruits, to which also the dews contribute. A Spanish writer observes that this perpetual want of rain is occasioned by the south-west wind blowing on the coast of Peru the whole year round, which always bears away the vapours from the plains before they are of sufficient body to descend in showers: But, when carried higher and farther inland, they become more compact, and at length fall down in rain on the interior hills. The inhabitants of Peru have plenty of cattle, fowls, fish, and all kinds of provisions common among us, except butter, instead of which they always use lard. They have oil, wine, and brandy in abundance, but not so good as in Europe. Instead of tea from China, which is prohibited, they make great use of *camini*, called herb of Paraguay, or Jesuits tea, which is brought from Paraguay by land. They make a decoction of this, which they usually suck through a pipe, calling it *Mattea*, being the name of the bowl out of which it is drank. Chocolate is their usual breakfast, and their grace cup after dinner; and sometimes they take a glass of brandy, to promote digestion, but scarcely drink any wine. In Chili, they make some butter, such as it is, the cream being put into a skin bag kept for that purpose, which is laid on a table between two women, who shake it till the butter comes.

The Spaniards are no friends to the bottle, yet gallantry and intrigue are here brought to perfection, insomuch that it is quite unmannerly here not to have a mistress, and scandalous not to keep her well. The women have many accomplishments, both natural and acquired, having graceful motions, winning looks, and engaging, free, and sprightly conversation. They are all delicately shaped, not injured by stiff-bodied stays, but left entirely to the beauty of nature, and hardly is there a crooked body to be seen among them. Their eyes and teeth are singularly beautiful, and their hair is universally of a dark polished hue, nicely combed and plaited, and tied behind with ribbons, but never disguised by powder; and the brightness of their skins round the tem-

 ples,

ples, clearly appears through their dark hair. Though amours are universal at Lima, the men are very careful to hide them, and no indecent word or action is ever permitted in public. They usually meet for these purposes, either in the afternoon at the *Siesta,* or in the evening in calashes on the other side of the river, or in the great square of the city, where calashes meet in great numbers in the dusk. These are slung like our coaches, but smaller, many of them being made only to hold two persons sitting opposite. They are all drawn by one mule, with the negro driver sitting on his back; and it is quite usual to see some of these calashes, with the blinds close, standing still for half an hour at a time. In these amusements they have several customs peculiar to themselves. After evening prayers, the gentleman changes his dress from a cloak to a *montero,* or jockey-coat, with a laced linen cap on his head, and a handkerchief round his neck, instead of a wig; or if he wear his own hair, it must be tucked under a cap and concealed, as it is the universal fashion to be thus disguised. Even those who have no mistress, are ashamed to appear virtuous, and must be somehow masked or disguised, in order to countenance the way of the world. As all this is night-work, they have an established rule to avoid quarrels, by never speaking to or noticing each other, when going in quest of or to visit their ladies.

In short, the fore-part of every night in the year is a kind of masquerade. Among people of any rank who do not keep calashes, one couple never walks close behind another, but each at the distance of at least twelve paces, to prevent the overhearing of any secret whispers. Should a lady drop a fan or any thing else by accident, a gentleman may take it up, but he must not give it to the lady, but to the gentleman who accompanies her, lest she may happen to be the wife or sister of him who takes it up; and as all the ladies are veiled, these wise rules are devised to prevent any impertinent discoveries. Any freedom in contravention of these laws of gallantry would be looked upon as the highest affront, and would be thought to merit a drawn sword through the midriff. Should any one see his most intimate friend any where with a woman, he must never take notice of it, or mention it afterwards. Every thing of this nature is conducted with all imaginary gravity and decorum, by which the practice of gallantry becomes decent and easy; yet there are some jealousies in this regular commerce of love, which sometimes end

fatally.

fatally. A story of this kind happened shortly before I went to Lima. A young lady, who thought herself sole sovereign in the heart of her lover, saw him by chance in the company of another, and, waiting no farther proof of his infidelity, she instantly plunged a dagger in his bosom. She was soon after brought to trial, and every one expected that she should pay the forfeit with her life; but the judges, considering her rashness as proceeding from excess of love, not malice, acquitted her. However agreeable these gallantries may be to the *Creole* Spaniards, they have an inconvenient effect on society; as the men are so engrossed by these matters, as to spoil all public conversation. Their time is entirely taken up in attendance on their mistresses, so that there are no coffee-houses or taverns, and they can only be met with at their offices, or in church.

Perhaps it may be chiefly owing to this effeminate propensity, that all manly exercises, all useful knowledge, and that noble emulation which inspires virtue, and keeps alive respect for the public good, are here unknown. Those amusements which serve in other countries to relax the labours of the industrious, and to keep alive the vigour of the body and mind, are unknown in Peru; and whoever should attempt to introduce any such, would be considered as an innovator, which, among them, is a hateful character: For they will never be convinced, that martial exercises or literary conferences are preferable to intrigues. They have, however, a sort of a play-house, where the young gentlemen and students divert themselves after their fashion; but their dramatic performances are so mean as hardly to be worth mentioning, being scripture stories, interwoven with romance, a mixture still worse than gallantry. At this theatre, two Englishmen belonging to the squadron of Mons. Martinat, fought a prize-battle a short time before I came to Lima. Having first obtained leave of the viceroy to display their skill at the usual weapons, and the day being fixed, they went through many previous ceremonies, to draw, as the phrase is, a good house. Preceded by beat of drum, and dressed in holland shirts and ribbons, they went about the streets saluting the spectators at the windows with flourishes of their swords, so that the whole city came to see the trial of skill, some giving gold for admittance, and hardly any one less than a dollar. The company, male and female, being assembled, the masters mounted the stage, and, after

the usual manner of the English, having shaken hands, they took their distance, and stood on their guard in good order. Several bouts were played without much wrath or damage, the design being more to get money than cuts or credit, till at length one of the masters received a small hurt on the breast, which blooded his shirt, and began to make the combat look terrible. Upon this, fearing from this dreadful beginning that the zeal of the combatants might grow too warm, the company cried out, *Basta! basta!* or enough! enough! And the viceroy would never permit another exhibition of the same kind, lest one of the combatants might receive a mortal wound, and so die without absolution.

So deficient are the Spaniards in energy of spirit, that many extensive countries and islands remain unexplored, in the immediate neighbourhood of their vast American dominions, though some of these are reported to be richer and more valuable than those which are already conquered and settled. The first Spanish governors of Mexico and Peru were not of this indolent disposition, but bestowed great pains in endeavouring to acquire the most perfect knowledge bordering upon their respective governments: But now that general thirst of fame is entirely extinguished, and they content themselves with plundering their fellow-subjects in the countries already known. The regions to the north of Mexico are known to abound in silver, precious stones, and other rich commodities, yet the Spaniards decline all conquest on that side, and discourage as much as possible the reports which have spread of the riches of these countries. On the same principles, they give no encouragement to attempt penetrating into the heart of South America, whence most of the riches of Peru are known to come, the mountains at the back of the country being extremely rich in gold; and the regions, on the other side, towards the Atlantic, being inhabited by nations that have abundance of that metal, though, for fear of being oppressed by the Europeans, they conceal it as much as possible.

Of all the discoveries that have been talked of among the Spaniards, that which has made the most noise is the island or islands of Solomon, supposed to be the same with those discovered by the famous Ferdinand Quiros. He reported them to be extremely rich and very populous, and repeatedly memorialed the court of Spain to be authorised to complete his discovery. All his solicitations, however, were neglected,

ed, and it became a question in a few years whether any such islands had ever existed. At length, towards the close of the seventeenth century, such discoveries were made as to the reality of these islands, that Don Alvaro de Miranda was sent out to discover them in 1695. He failed in the attempt, but in the search met with four islands, between the latitude of 7° and 10° S. which were wonderfully rich and pleasant, the inhabitants being a better looking race, and far more civilized than any of the Indians on the continent of America. This discovery occasioned a good deal of discourse at the time; but the subsequent disturbances relative to the succession to the crown of Spain, so occupied the attention of every person, that all views of endeavouring to find the islands of Solomon were laid aside.[2]

§ 5. *Some Account of the Mines of Peru and Chili.*

As the riches of Peru consist chiefly in mines of silver, I shall endeavour to give some account of them, from the best information I could procure. There are two sorts of silver-mines, in one of which the silver is found scattered about in small quantities, or detached masses, while, in the other kind of mine, it runs in a vein between two rocks, one of which is excessively hard, and the other much softer. These certainly best deserve the name of silver-mines, and are accordingly so denominated. This precious metal, which in other countries is the standard or measure of riches, is the actual riches of Peru, or its chief natural commodity; as, throughout the whole of that vast country, silver-mines are almost every where to be met with, of more or less value, according as the ore produces more or less silver, or can be wrought at a greater or less expence. Some of these mines are to the north of Lima, but not a great many, but to the south they are very numerous. On the back, or eastern side of the Andes, there is a nation of Indians called *Los Platerors*, or the *Plate*, or *Silver* men, from their possessing vast quantities of silver,[1] but with them the Spaniards have very little communication.

[2] These islands of Miranda appear to have been the Marquebes, between the latitudes of 8° 45′ and 10° 25′ N. and long. 139° W. The Solomon islands, or New Georgia, are between 5° and 10° N. and long. 200° to 205° W. 63½ degrees of longitude farther to the westwards.—E.

[1] This tribe still holds its place in modern geography, in the vast plain

munication. The best of the mine countries are to the south of Cusco, from thence to Potosi and the frontiers of Chili, where, for the space of 300 miles, there is a continued succession of mines, some being discovered and others abandoned almost every day.

It is common, both here and elsewhere, for people to complain of the times, commending the past, as if there had been infinitely greater quantities of silver dug from the mines formerly than at present. This certainly may be the case with particular mines; but, on the whole, the quantities of silver now annually obtained from the mines in Spanish America, abundantly exceeds what used formerly to be procured. Those mines which are at present [1720] most remarkable in Peru are, Loxa, Camora, Cuenca, Puerto-veio, and St Juan del Oro. Those of Oruro and Titiri are neglected; and those of Porco and Plata are filled up. At Potosi there are a vast number of mines; and those of Tomina, Chocaia, Atacuna, Xuxui, Calchaques, Guasco, Iquique, &c. are all wrought with more or less profit, according to the skill of the proprietors or managers. It is generally believed that the creoles have a very perfect acquaintance with the minerals, from experience, and with the art of treating them, so as to obtain the largest profit; but, when their utter ignorance in all other arts is considered, their constant going on in the old beaten track, and their enormous waste of quicksilver, one is tempted to believe that our European miners might conduct their works to still greater advantage.

The most perfect silver that is brought from Peru is in the forms called *pinnas* by the Spaniards, being extremely porous lumps of silver, as they are the remainder of a paste composed of silver dust and mercury, whence the latter being exhaled or evaporated, leaves the silver in a spongy mass, full of holes, and very light. This is the kind of silver which is put into various forms by the merchants, in order to cheat the king of his duty; wherefore all silver in this state, found any where on the road, or on board any ship, is looked upon as contraband, and liable to seizure.

In regard to the art of refining, I propose to shew the progress of the ore, from the mine till it comes to this spongy mass

to the E. of the Maranors or Amazons, where there cannot be any silver-mines, at least that they can explore. They are so named because of wearing silver ear-rings, which they must, almost certainly, procure in barter from the tribes in the mountains, far to the west.—E.

mass or cake. After breaking the stone or ore taken out of the veins, it is grinded in mills between grindstones, or pounded in the *ingenious reales*, or royal engines, by means of hammers or beetles, like the mills for Paris plaster. These generally have a wheel of twenty-five or thirty feet diameter, with a long axle or lying shaft, set round with smooth triangular projections, which, as the axle turns, lay hold of the iron hammers, of about two hundred-weight each, lifting them to a certain height, whence they drop down with such violence that they crush and reduce the hardest stones to powder. The pounded ore is afterwards sifted through iron or copper sieves, which allow the finest powder to go through, the coarse being returned to the mill. When the one happens to be mixed with copper or other metals which prevent its reduction to powder, it is roasted or calcined in an oven or reverberatory furnace, and pounded over again.

At the smaller mines, where they only use grindstones, they, for the most part, grind the ore along with water, forming it into a liquid paste, which runs out into receivers. When grinded dry, it has to be afterwards mixed with water, and well moulded up with the feet for a long time. For this purpose, they make a court or floor, on which that mud, or paste of pounded ore and water, is disposed in square parcels of about a foot thick, each parcel containing half a *caxon*, or chest, which is twenty-five quintals or hundred-weights of ore, and these parcels are called *cuerpos*, or bodies. On each of these they throw about two hundred-weights of sea-salt, more or less, according to the nature of the ore, which they mould or incorporate with the moistened ore for two or three days. They then add a certain quantity of quicksilver, squeezing it from a skin bag, to make it fall in drops equally on the mass or *cuerpo*, allowing to each mass ten, fifteen, or twenty pounds of quicksilver, according to the nature or quality of the ore, as the richer it is, it requires the more mercury to draw it to the silver contained in the mass, so that they know the quantity by long experience. An Indian is employed to mould or trample one of these square cuerpos eight times a-day, that the mercury may thoroughly incorporate with the silver. To expedite this incorporation, they often mix lime with the mass, when the ore happens to be what they call greasy, and in this great caution is required, as they say the mass sometimes grows so hot that they neither find mercury nor silver in it, which

seems

seems quite incredible. Sometimes also they strew in some lead or tin ore, to facilitate the operation of the mercury, which is slower in very cold weather; wherefore, at Potosi and Lipes, they are often obliged to mould or work up their cuerpos during a month or six weeks; but, in more temperate climates, the amalgama is completed in eight or ten days. To facilitate the action of the mercury, they, in some places, as at Puno and elsewhere, construct their *buiterons* or floors on arches, under which they keep fires for twenty-four hours, to heat the masses or *cuerpos,* which are in that case placed as a pavement of bricks.

When it is thought that the mercury has attracted all the silver, the assayer takes a small quantity of ore from each cuerpo, which he washes separately in a small earthen plate or wooden bowl; and, by the colour and appearance of the amalgama found at the bottom, when the earthy matters are washed away, he knows whether the mercury has produced its proper effect. When blackish, the ore is said to have been too much heated, and they add more salt, or some other temper. In this case they say that mercury is *dispara,* that is, shoots or flees away. If the mercury remains white, they put a drop under the thumb, and pressing it hastily, the silver in the amalgam sticks to the thumb, and the mercury slips away in little drops. When they conceive that all the silver has incorporated with the mercury, the mixed mass, or cuerpo, is carried to a basin or pond, into which a small stream of water is introduced to wash it, much in the same way as I shall afterwards describe the manner in which they wash gold, only that as the silver-ore is reduced to a fine mud without stones, it is stirred by an Indian with his feet, to dissolve it thoroughly, and loosen the silver. From the first basin it falls into a second, and thence into a third, where the stirring and washing is repeated, that any amalgam which has not subsided in the first and second may not escape the third.

The whole being thoroughly washed in these basins, which are lined with leather, till the water runs clear off, the amalgam of mercury and silver is found at the bottom, and is termed *la pella.* This is put into a woollen bag and hung up, from whence some of the mercury runs out. The bag is then beaten and pressed as much as they can, laying upon it a flat piece of wood loaded with a heavy weight, to get out as much of the mercury as they can. The paste is then put

put into a mould of wooden planks bound together, generally in the form of an octagon pyramid cut short, its bottoms being a plate of copper, full of small holes, into which the paste is stirred and pressed down, in order to fasten it. When they design to make many *pinnas*, or spongy lumps of various weights, these are divided from each other by thin beds or layers of earth, which hinder them from uniting. For this purpose, the *pella*, or mass of amalgam, must be weighed out in separate portions, deducting two-thirds for the contained mercury, by which they know to a small matter the quantity of silver contained in each. They then take off the mould, and place the pella or mass with its copper base on a trivet, or such like instrument, standing over a great earthen vessel full of water, and cover it with an earthen cap, which again is covered by lighted coals. This fire is fed and kept up for some hours, by which the mass of pella below becomes violently heated, the contained mercury being thereby raised into vapour: But, having no means of escape through the cap or cover, it is forced down to the water underneath, where it condenses into quicksilver and sinks to the bottom. By this contrivance, little of the mercury is lost, and the same serves over again. But the quantity must be increased, *because it grows weak.*[2] At Potosi, as Acosta relates, they formerly consumed six or seven thousand quintals of mercury every year, by which some idea may be formed of the silver there procured.

On the evaporation of the mercury, nothing remains but a spongy lump of contiguous grains of silver, very light and almost mouldering, called *la pinna* by the Spaniards. These masses must be carried to the king's receipt or mint, to pay the royal fifth; and are there cast into ingots, on which are stamped the arms of the crown, the place where cast, and their weight and fineness. All these ingots, having paid the fifth, are sure to be without fraud or deceit; but it is not so with the *pinnas*, as these have often iron, sand, or some other matter contained within them, to increase their weight: Hence, prudence requires that these should be opened, and made red hot in a fire; for, if falsified, the fire will turn them black or yellow, or melt them more easily. This trial by fire is also necessary to extract moisture, which they contract

[2] This is utterly absurd, as the mercury must be the same in *quality* as before, the *quantity* only being *weakened.*

contract in places where they are purposely laid to render them heavier, as also for separating the mercury with which the bottom of the mass is always more or less impregnated. The weight of these *pinnas* may be increased nearly a third, by dipping them while red hot into water. It also sometimes happens that the same mass of pinna may be of different fineness in different parts.

The ore, or stones taken from the mines, or the *mineray*, as it is called in Peru, from which the silver is extracted, is not always of the same nature, consistence, and colour. Some are white and grey, mixed with red or bluish spots, called *plata blanca* or white silver; of which sort the one in the Lipes mines mostly consists. For the most part, some little grains of silver are to be discerned, and very often small branches are seen, ramifying along the layers of the stone. Some ores are as black as the dross of iron, and in which no silver is to be seen, which is called *negrillo* or blackish ore. Sometimes the ore is rendered black by admixture of lead, and is called *plombo ronco*, or coarse lead, in which the silver appears as if scratched by something harsh. This ore is generally the richest in silver, and from it also the silver is got at the smallest charge; as instead of having to be moulded or kneaded with quicksilver, it has only to be melted in furnaces, where the lead evaporates by the force of fire, and the silver remains pure behind. From this sort of mines, the Indians drew their silver before the coming of the Spaniards, having no knowledge of the use of mercury, and they accordingly only wrought those mines of which the ore would melt; and, having but little wood, they heated their furnaces with *ylo*, the dung of the *Llamas* or Peruvian sheep, placing their furnaces on the sides of mountains, that the wind might render their fires fierce.

There is another sort of black ore, in which the silver does not at all appear; and which, when wetted and rubbed against iron, becomes red. This ore is called *rosicler*, signifying that ruddiness which appears at the dawn of day. This is very rich, and affords the finest silver. Another kind, called *zoroche*, glitters like talc, and is generally very poor, yielding little silver: Its outer coat is very soft and of a yellowish red, but seldom rich; and the mines of this sort are wrought on account of the easiness of extracting the ore, being very easily dug. Another kind, not much harder than the last, is of a green colour, called *cobrissa* or copperish,

copperish, and is very rare. Although the silver usually appears in this kind, and it is almost mouldering, it is the most difficult of all to manage, as it parts very difficultly with the silver. Sometimes, after being stamped or reduced to powder, it has to be burnt in the fire, and several other expedients must be used to separate the silver, doubtless because mixed with copper. There is another very rare sort of ore, which has only been found in the mine of *Cotamiso* at Potosi, being threads of pure silver entangled, or wound up together, like burnt lace, and so fine that it is called *arana*, or spider ore, from its resemblance to a cobweb.

The veins of *mineray*, of whatever sort they may be, are generally richer in the middle than towards the edges; and where two veins happen to cross each other, the place where they meet is always very rich. It is also observed that those which lie north and south are richer than those which lie in any other direction. Those also which are near to places where mills can be erected, and can consequently be more commodiously wrought, are often preferable to others that are richer, but require more expense in working. For this reason, at Lipes and Potosi, a chest of ore must yield ten marks or eighty ounces of silver, to pay the charges of working; while those in the province of Tarama only require five merks or forty ounces to defray the expences. When even very rich, and they happen to sink down so as to be liable to be flooded, the adventurers must have recourse to pumps and machines in order to drain them, or to *cocabones* or levels dug through the sides of the mountain, which often ruin the owners by the enormous expence they are insensibly drawn into. At some of the mines, where the methods of separation already described fail, they use other means of extracting the silver from the ore, and from other metals which may be combined with it; as by fire, or strong separating waters; and there the silver is cast into a sort of ingots, called *bollos*. But the most general and useful method is that already described.

It may naturally be supposed that mines, as well as other things, are subject to variation in their productiveness. The mines which, till very lately, yielded most silver, were those of *Oroura*, a small town about eight leagues from Arica. In the year 1712, one was discovered at *Ollachea* near Cusco, so rich that it yielded 2500 marks of silver of eight ounces each, or 20,000 ounces, out of each *caxon* or chest, being almost

almost a fifth part of the ore; but it has since declined much, and is now [1720] only reckoned among the ordinary sort. Those of Lipes have had a similar fate. Those at Potosi now yield but little, and are worked at a very heavy expence, owing to their excessive depth. Although the mines here are far diminished in their productiveness, yet the quantity of ore which has been formerly wrought, and has lain many years on the surface, is now thought capable of yielding a second crop; and when I was at Lima, they were actually turning it up, and milling it over again with great success. This is a proof that these minerals generate in the earth like all other inanimate things; [3] and it likewise appears, from all the accounts of the Spaniards, that gold, silver, and other metals are continually growing and forming in the earth. This opinion is verified by experience in the mountain of Potosi, where several mines had fallen in, burying the workmen and their tools; and these being again opened up after some years, many boxes and pieces of wood were discovered, having veins of silver actually running through them. [4]

All these mines become the property of their first discoverer, who immediately presents a petition to the magistrates, desiring to have such a piece of ground for his own. This is accordingly granted, and a spot of ground eighty Spanish yards in length by forty in breadth [5] is measured out and appropriated to the discoverer, who chuses what spot he pleases within these bounds, and does with it as he thinks fit. The exact same quantity is then measured off as belonging to the king, and is sold to the best bidder, there being always many who are willing to purchase, what may turn out an inestimable treasure. After this, if any person may incline to work a part of this mine on his own account, he bargains with the proprietor for a particular vein. All that is dug out by any one is his own, subject however to payment

[3] It is merely a proof that the ore had been formerly very imperfectly managed, and still contained enough of silver to pay for extraction with profit, by more expert methods.—E.

[4] This proves only change of place, by solution, infiltration, and deposition; not growth, increase, or new production.—E.

[5] In Harris this is said to be *about* 1200 *feet in length, and* 100 *in breadth*, which is obviously absurd; as the one measure gives the Spanish yard at 15 English feet, and the latter at $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Both measures are probably erroneous; but there are no data for their correction.—E.

payment of the royal duties; being one-twentieth part for gold, and a fifth for silver; and some proprietors find a good account in letting out their grounds and mills to others.

There are gold-mines just beyond the town of Copaipo, and in all the country around, which have attracted many purchasers and workmen to that district, to the great injury and oppression of the Indians; as the Spanish magistrates not only take away their lands for the purposes of mining, but their horses also, which they sell to the new adventurers, under pretence of serving the king and improving the settlements. There is also abundance of magnet and *lapiz lazuli*, of which the Indians know not the value; and some leagues within the country, there is plenty of salt and saltpetre, which often lies an inch thick on the ground. On the *Cordelieras*, about an hundred miles to the east, there is a vein of sulphur about two feet wide, so fine and pure that it needs no cleaning. This part of the country is full of all sorts of mines, but so excessively barren, that the inhabitants have to fetch all their subsistence from the country about Coquimbo, over a desert of more than 300 miles extent, in which the earth abounds so much in salt and sulphur that the mules often perish by the way, for want of grass and fresh water. In that long road there is only one river in the course of two hundred miles, which is named *Ancalulae* or the Hyporite, because it runs only from sunrise to sun-set. This is occasioned by the great quantities of snow melted on the Cordelieras in the day, which freezes again by the excessive cold of the night. Hence *Chili* is said to derive its name, as *chile* signifies cold in the Indian language; and we are told by the Spanish historians, that some of their countrymen and others, who first traded to this country, were frozen to death on their mules; for which reason they now always travel by a lower road, towards the coast.

The mine countries are all so cold and barren, that the inhabitants have to procure most of their provisions from the coast; this is caused by the exhalations of salts and sulphur from the earth, which destroy the growth of all vegetables. These are so stifling to the Spaniards who dwell about the mines, that they are obliged often to drink the *mattea*, or tea made of the herb *camini*, to moisten their mouths. The mules also, that trip it nimbly over the mountains, are forced to walk slowly in the country about the mines,

mines, and have often to stop to take breath. If these vapours are so strong without and in the open air, what must they be within the bowels of the earth in the mines, into which, if a fresh man go, he is suddenly benumbed with pain. This is the case with many, but seldom lasts above a day, and they are not liable to be affected a second time: Yet vapours often burst forth suddenly, by which the workmen are killed on the spot; and one way or another, great multitudes of Indians die in working the mines. One is apt to wonder that, through all this part of the world, those districts which are most barren and unwholesome are the best inhabited; while other places, that seem to vie with our nations of the terrestrial paradise, in beauty and fertility, are but thinly peopled. Yet, when one considers, that it is the thirst of wealth, not the love of ease, which attracts people thither, the wonder ceases, and we see how much the hope of living rich gets the better even of the hope of living; as if the sole end for which man was created was to acquire wealth, at the expence of health and happiness.

In reference to these deserts, the following observation occurs to my memory, as having happened when we were on the road to Piura. When we lay down to sleep at night, our mules went eagerly in search of a certain root, not unlike a parsnip, but much bigger, which contains a great deal of juice, and, besides serving as food, often answers as a substitute for water in the deserts. When the mules find these, and are unable to rake them out of the ground with their feet, they stand over them and bray with all their might, till the Indians come to their assistance.

It is generally understood that silver is the peculiar wealth of Peru, and the Spaniards usually talk of gold-mines as confined to Chili: Yet there are one or two *lavaderas*, or washing-places for gold in the south of Peru, near the frontiers of Chili. In 1709, two surprizingly large *pepitos*, or lumps of virgin gold, were found in one of these places, one of which weighed complete thirty-two pounds, and was purchased by the *Conde de Monclod*, then viceroy of Peru, and presented by him to the king of Spain. The other, shaped somewhat like an ox's heart, weighed twenty-two pounds and a half, and was purchased by the corregidor of Arica. In searching for these *lavadores* or washing places, they dig in the corners of some little brook, where they judge, from certain tokens, that the grains of gold are lodged.

ged. To assist in carrying away the earth or mud, they let in a stream or current of water into the excavation, and keep stirring up the soil, that the water may carry it away. On reaching the golden sand, they turn the stream another way, and dig out this sand, which is carried on mules to certain ponds or basons, which are joined by small canals. Into these they introduce a smart stream of water, to loosen the earth and carry away the grosser part. The Indians stand in the basons or ponds, stirring up the earth to assist the operation of the water, and throwing out the stones. The gold remains at the bottom, still mixed with a black sand, and is hardly to be seen till farther cleaned and separated, which is easily done. These washing places differ much from each other. In some the grains of gold are as big as small shot; and in one belonging to the priests, near Valparaiso, some are found from the weight of two or three ounces to a pound and a half. This way of getting gold is much better than from the mines, as it does not require expensive digging, neither are mills necessary for grinding the ore, nor quicksilver for extracting the metal; so that both the trouble and expence are much less. The creoles are by no means so nice in washing their gold as are the people in Europe; but great plenty makes them careless, both in this and other matters.

§ 6. *Observations on the Trade of Chili.*

It is not intended in this place to give a description of the large kingdom of Chili, but only some account of the nature of its trade, and the manner in which that is connected with the general commerce of Peru, by which the wealth of Chili is transmitted to Europe. Chili extends in length about 1200 miles from north to south, but its breadth is uncertain. The air is very temperate and wholesome, unless when rendered otherwise by pestilential exhalations, that are most common after earthquakes, to which this country is peculiarly liable. The winter rains are very heavy, during the months of May, June, July, and August; after which, for eight months together, they have fine weather, generally speaking. The soil, where it admits of cultivation, is prodigiously fertile, and fruit-trees carried thither from Europe come to the greatest perfection, so that fruit is coming forward

ward in its different stages at all times of the year; insomuch that it is common to see apple-trees, in the situation so much admired in orange trees, having blossoms, fruit just set, green fruit, and ripe apples, all on one tree at the same time. The valleys, wherever they have any moisture, wear a perpetual verdure; and the hills are covered with odoriferous herbs, many of which are very useful in medicine. The country also produces trees of all sorts. Thus Chili, independent of its gold-mines, may well be accounted one of the richest and finest countries in the world. For instance, the town of Coquimbo, in lat. 30° S. [30° 20′] a short mile from the sea, in a most delightful place. It is situated on a green rising ground, about ten yards high, formed by nature like a regular terrace, stretching north and south in a direct line of more than half a mile, turning a little at each end to the eastwards; and its principal street forms a delightful walk, having a fine prospect of the country and the bay. All this is placed in an evergreen valley, and watered by a beautiful river, which rises in the mountains, and flows in a winding stream to the sea, through beautiful meadows and fertile vales.

Notwithstanding its many advantages, this vast country is very thinly inhabited; so that through its whole extent there are scarcely five towns deserving that appellation, and only one city, named St Jago. Through all the rest of the country there are only farms, called *estancias*, which are so remote from each other, that the whole country cannot muster 20,000 whites capable of bearing arms, of which St Jago contains 2000. All the rest of the population consists of mesticoes, mulattoes, and Indians, the number of whom may amount to three times as many.[1] This is exclusive of the *friendly* Indians to the south of the river *Biobio*, who are reckoned to amount to 15,000 fighting men, but whose fidelity is not much to be depended upon.

The trade of this country is chiefly carried on by sea, and at present, 1720, is rather in a declining situation. The port of Baldivia was formerly very famous, on account of the very rich gold-mines which were wrought in its neighbourhood, which are now in a great measure disused. Hence

[1] Allowing *eight* persons of all ages and both sexes to *one* fit to bear arms, this would give to Chili, in 1720, a population of 160,000 whites, and 480,000 of colour, or 640,000 in all.—E.

Hence it is now only kept as a garrison, serving to Peru as the fortresses on the coast of Barbary do to Spain, as a place to which malefactors are sent, to serve against the Indians. The trade of this place consists in sending ten or twelve ships every year to Peru, laden with hides, tanned leather, salt meat, corn, and other provisions, which are to be had here in great plenty.

The port of Conception is more considerable, by reason of its trade with the Indians who are not under subjection to the crown of Spain. These Indians are copper-coloured, having large limbs, broad faces, and coarse lank hair. The nation of the *Puelches* differs somewhat from the rest, as among them there are some who are tolerably white, and have some little colour in their cheeks; which is supposed to be owing to their having some Europeans blood in their veins, ever since the natives of this country revolted from the Spaniards, and cut off most of their garrisons; on which occasion they preserved the women, and especially the nuns, by whom they had many children; who still retain a sort of affection for the country of their mothers, and, though too proud to submit to the Spaniards, yet are unwilling to hurt them.

These *Puelches* inhabit the ridge of mountains called *La Cordeliera* by the Spaniards, and as the manner of trading with them is very singular, it may be proper to give some account of it. When the Spanish pedlar or travelling merchant goes into this country, he goes directly to a caçique or chief, and presents himself before him without speaking a word. The caçique breaks silence first, saying to the merchant, *Are you come?* To which the merchant answers, *I am come. What have you brought me?* replies the caçique. To which the merchant rejoins, *Wine*, and such other things as he may have to dispose of, wine being a necessary article. Upon which the caçique never fails to say, *You are welcome.* The caçique then appoints a lodging for the merchant near his own hut, where his wives and children, bidding him welcome, each demand a present, however small, which he accordingly gives. The caçique then gives notice to his scattered subjects, by means of his horn or trumpet, that a merchant is arrived with whom they may trade. They come accordingly and see the commodities, which are knives, axes, combs, needles, thread, small mirrors, ribbons, and the like. The best of all would be wine, were it not dangerous to

supply them with that article; as, when drunk, they are very quarrelsome and apt to kill one another, and it would not then be safe to be among them. When they have agreed on the price, or barter rather, they carry away all the articles without then making payment; so that the merchant delivers all his commodities without knowing to whom, or even seeing any of his debtors. When his business is concluded, and he proposes to go away, the caçique commands payment by again sounding his horn, and then every man honestly brings to the merchant the cattle he owes for the goods received; and, as these consist of mules, goats, oxen, and cows, the caçique commands a sufficient number of men to conduct them to the Spanish frontiers.

The far greater number of bullocks and cows that are slaughtered and consumed every year in Chili, comes from the plains of Paraguay,[2] which are in a manner covered by them. The Puelches bring them through the plain of *Tapapapa*, inhabited by the *Pteheingues*,[3] or unconquered Indians, this being the best pass for crossing the mountains, as being divided into two hills of less difficult access than the others, which are almost impassable for mules. There is another pass, about eighty leagues from Conception, at the volcano of *Silla Velluda*, which now and then casts out fire, and sometimes with so great a noise as to be heard even at that city. In that way the journey is much shortened, and they can go to Buenos Ayres in six weeks. By these communications they generally bring all the beeves and goats,[4] which are slaughtered in Chili by thousands for their tallow and lard. This last consists of the marrow of the bones, which serves throughout all South America instead of butter and oil, for making sauces. The flesh is either dried in the sun, or by means of smoke, to preserve it for use, instead of salt as used in Europe. These slaughters also afford great quantities of hides, especially goat-skins, which they dress like Morocco leather, by them called cordovanes, and is sent into Peru for making shoes, or other uses.

Besides

[2] Paraguay is here used in far too extensive a sense, as comprising the whole level country to the east of the Andes: The plains of Cuyo are those alluded to in the text.—E.

[3] The Pehneuches are probably here meant, who dwell on the west side of the Andes, between the latitudes of 33° and 36° S. The Puelches on the same side of the Andes, from 36° to 40°.—E.

[4] Perhaps, instead of the goats in the text, *vicunnas* ought to be understood.—E.

Besides the trade of hides, tallow, and dried meat, the inhabitants of Conception send every year eight or ten ships of forty or fifty tons to Calao laden with corn; besides supplying meal and biscuit to the French ships, which take in provisions there in order to proceed to Peru, and for their voyage back to France. All this were quite inconsiderable for so fine a country, were it better peopled; since the land is so extraordinarily fertile, were it well cultivated, that they only scratch it for the most part, by means of a plough made of a crooked stick, and drawn by two oxen; and, though the seed be scarcely covered, it produces seldom less than an hundred fold. Neither are they at any more pains in procuring their vines, in order to make good wine. Besides which, as they have not the art to glaze their jars in which the wine is secured, to make them hold in, they are under the necessity of pitching them. And this, together with the goat-skin bags in which it is carried from the estancias, gives it a bitter taste like treacle, and a flavour to which it is hard for strangers to accustom themselves. The grasses also are allowed to grow without any attention or industry being employed in grafting. Apples and pears grow naturally in the woods, and in such abundance as it is hard to comprehend how they could have so multiplied since the conquest, as they affirm there were none in the country before.

The mines of *Quilogoya* and *Quilacura* are within four leagues of this port, and afford vast quantities of gold. At the *Estancia del Re*, or king's farm, which is at no great distance, there is by far the most plentiful *lavaders*, or washing-place for gold in all Chili, where sometimes they find lumps of pure gold of prodigious size. The mountains of the Cordelieras are reported to contain a continued chain of mines for many hundred miles, which certainly is highly probable, as hardly any of these mountains have hitherto been opened without vast quantities of metal being found in them, especially fine copper, of which all the artillery in the Spanish West Indies is constructed, at least all that are used in the countries on the South Seas.

The most considerable port in Chili is Valparaiso, which is esteemed one of the best harbours on the whole coast of the South Sea. It lies on a river fifteen leagues below St Jago, the capital of Chili.[5] To this port all the riches of the

[5] This is a material error. Valparaiso is on no river, and lies forty Eng-

the mines on every side are brought, particularly from those of *Tiltil*, which are immensely rich, and are situated between St Jago and Valparaiso. The gold here is found in a very hard stone, some of which sparkles and betrays the inclosed treasure to the eye; but most of it does not shew the smallest sign of gold, appearing merely a hard harsh stone of various colours, some white, some red, some black. This ore, after being broken in pieces, is grinded or stamped in a mill by the help of water, into a gross powder, with which quicksilver is afterwards mixed. To this mixture a brisk stream of water is let in, which reduces the earthy matters to a kind of mud, which is carried off by the current, the amalgam of gold and quicksilver remaining at the bottom, in consequence of its weight. This amalgam is then put into a linen bag, and pressed very hard, by which the greatest part of the mercury is strained off, and the remainder is evaporated off by the force of fire, leaving the gold in a little wedge or mass, shaped like a pine-apple, whence it is called a *pinna*. This is afterwards melted and cast in a mould, to know its exact weight, and to ascertain the proportion of silver that is mixed with the gold, no farther process of refining being done here. The weightiness of the gold, and the facility with which it forms an amalgam with the mercury, occasions it easily to part from the dross or earthy matters of the stone or matrix. This is a great advantage to the gold-miners, as they every day know what they get; but the silver-miners often do not know how much they get till two months after, owing to the tediousness of their operation, as formerly described.

According to the nature of these gold-mines, and the comparative richness of the veins, every *caxon*, or chest of fifty quintals, yields four, five, or six ounces of gold. When it only yields two ounces, the miner does not cover his charges, which often happens; but he sometimes receives ample amends, when he meets with good veins; and the gold-mines are those which produce metals the most unequally. In following a vein, it frequently widens, then becomes narrower, and then seems to disappear, all within a small space of ground; and this sport of nature makes the miners live in continual hopes of finding what they call a *purse*, being the expanded

lish miles north from the river Maypo, on one of the upper branches of which, the Mapocho, St Jago is situated.—E.

expanded end of a vein, which is sometimes so rich as to make a man's fortune at once; yet this same inequality sometimes ruins them, which is the reason that it is more rare to see a gold-miner rich than a silver-miner, or even one in any other metal, although there be less expence in extracting gold from the mineral than any other metal. For this reason also the gold-miners have the particular privilege that they cannot be sued to execution in civil actions. Gold only pays a twentieth part to the king, which duty is called *Covo,* from the name of a private individual at whose instance the duty was thus reduced, gold having formerly paid a fifth, as silver still does.

On the descent of this mountain of *Tiltil,* there runs, during the rainy season, a brisk stream of water, which passes through among the gold-ore, and washes away abundance of that rich metal, as it ripens [6] and breaks from its bed. On this account, this stream is accounted one of the richest lavaderos in all Chili for four months of every year; and well it may, as there are sometimes found in it pellets of gold of an ounce weight. At *Palma,* about four leagues from Valparaiso, there is another rich lavadero; and every where throughout the country, the fall of a brook or rivulet is accompanied by more or less of these golden showers, the richest of which fall into the laps of the jesuits, who farm or purchase abundance of mines and lavaderos, which are wrought for their benefit by their servants. The soil in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso is exceedingly rich and fertile, so that forty ships go from thence yearly to Calao, laden with corn; yet that commodity still remains so cheap at this place, where money is so abundant, that an English bushel of wheat may be bought for less than three shillings. It would be still cheaper, could all the country be cultivated; but as it has constant dry weather for eight months endurance, cultivation is only possible where they have brooks or little rills in the vales coming from the mountains, which can be applied for irrigating or watering the cultivated land.

There is a great trade carried on to all parts of Chili from the Atlantic ocean, by way of Buenos Ayres, whence the Chilese receive some European goods, together with large sums

[6] That is, as the matrix or rock in which it is contained, moulders and decays by the influences of the weather and of this stream; for the notion of ores ripening is a mere dream or fancy.—E.

sums in silver, in return for their commodities. This is perhaps the largest route of Indian commerce in the world, as the road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi is 1500 miles; and though the distance from Valparaiso be not above 160 miles more,[7] yet it is attended with much greater difficulty, as the vast chain of mountains called the Cordelieras of the Andes has to be passed, which can only be done during the three first months of the year, the passes being impracticable at all other times. At that season the merchants come from Mendoza, an inland town about 300 leagues from Buenos Ayres, and travel through the mountains to St Jago. The passage of the mountains usually takes up six or seven days, though only about sixty leagues, and the travellers have not only to carry their own provisions with them, but also the provender of their mules, as the whole of that part of the road is a continued series of rocks and precipices, and all the country round so barren and so exposed to snows in winter, that it is utterly uninhabitable. The remainder of the journey, from St Jago to the mines, and from thence to Valparaiso, is both safe and pleasant; and in this the merchants have nothing to fear, except staying too long, and losing their passage home through the mountains for that season, in which case they would have to remain in Chili at least nine months longer than they intended.

On the whole, though a very great part of the enormous extent of the Spanish dominions in South America be absolutely desert, and the people in some of the inhabited parts do not acquire large fortunes, yet the Spanish settlers in Chili certainly procure immense riches yearly, as the country is but thinly inhabited, and all the gold drawn from the mines and lavadores must be divided among them. It is evident, however, that the greater part of the inhabitants do not abound in wealth. Those among them who deal in cattle, corn, and the other productions of the country, only acquire moderate fortunes; and those who are concerned in the mines are frequently ruined by launching out into unsuccessful speculations, and by expensive living. Those who are easy in their circumstances, and retire to the city of St Jago,

[7] In these estimates, Betagh has been very unfortunate, as the direct distance from Buenos Ayres to Potosi does not exceed 1100 miles, and the distance from Valparaiso, also in a straight line, is hardly 800 miles. —E.

Jago, live in such a manner as sufficiently demonstrates the riches of Chili; as all their utensils, even those of the most ordinary sort, are of pure gold, and it is believed that the wealth of that city cannot fall short of twenty millions.[8] Add to this, the gold-mines are continually increasing, and it is only for want of hands that they are not wrought to infinitely more advantage; for those already discovered and now neglected, would be sufficient to employ 40,000 men. It may also be observed, that the frauds practised against the royal revenue are increasing daily, and, as the riches of the Spanish West Indies are measured by the amount of the royal revenue, this must make them appear poorer than they are in reality. We have one instance of this in the mines of Potosi, which are said to produce less silver than they did formerly; yet, on a computation for fifty years, the annual revenue to the king has amounted, on the average, to 220,000 *pesos*, of thirteen rials and a quarter yearly, which shews that the annual produce of these mines, so far as it has paid the royal duty, amounts nearly to two million pieces of eight, or dollars, and it may be confidently asserted that the royal treasury does not receive above half of what is due: wherefore, from this example, the rest may be judged of.

§ 7. *Some Account of the French Interlopers in Chili.*

As the policy of Spain chiefly consists in endeavouring, by all possible means, to prevent the riches of these extensive dominions from passing into other hands, so the knowledge possessed by other nations of the great wealth of these countries, and of the great demand for European manufactures among their inhabitants, has excited almost every nation in Europe to devise every possible contrivance for coming in for a share in these riches, and this with such effect, that it is even questionable whether any considerable portion of the riches of the new world centres among the inhabitants of Old Spain. This may be judged of from the following considerations: Even the trade carried on from Spain to the new world is of much greater importance to foreigners than to the Spaniards themselves. For as Spain has few commodities

[8] The coin or denomination is not specified: If dollars, at 4s. 6d., this would amount to four millions and a half sterling.—E.

dities of its own, and carries on scarcely any manufactures, the Spanish merchants at Cadiz have to make up their cargoes by means of purchases from other countries; or rather the Cadiz merchants are mere factors for the merchants of England, France, and Holland, whose goods they send to America, and pay them by the returns made in the Plate fleets. Spain also is a country very ill provided with some of the necessaries of life, and most of the conveniences; so that prodigious sums of the money brought from America have to be yearly exported for the purchase of these.

Besides such drawbacks as the above, to which the Spaniards willingly submit, there are many others which they are forced to endure: For instance, all the negroes they employ in their plantations, in which every kind of labour is performed by them, are purchased from foreigners, particularly the English and Dutch, at a very large annual expence; and, under pretence of furnishing them with negroes, a clandestine trade is carried on every year, along the whole coasts of their possessions on the Atlantic. In the South Sea, however, they were tolerably free from every thing except the depredations of pirates, till the general war on account of the succession to the crown of Spain, which created a new kind of contraband trade, unknown in former times, of which I now propose to give some account.

The *French interlopers* carried vast quantities of goods directly from Europe into the South Seas, which till then had hardly ever been attempted by any European nation. This was always viewed with an evil eye by the court of Spain, as repugnant to the interests of Spain, and diametrically opposite to the maxims of her government; but there were many circumstances at that time which rendered this a kind of necessary evil, and obliged therefore the people of Old Spain to submit to it. As for the creoles, they had European goods and at a cheaper rate, and it did not give them much concern who it was that received their money. The town of St Malo has always been noted for privateers, and greatly annoyed the trade of the English and Dutch during the whole reign of King William, and part of that of Queen Anne; and though some allege that money procured by privateering never prospers, yet I may safely affirm that the people of St Malo are as rich and flourishing as any in all France. Privateering has thriven so well among them, that all their South Sea trade has arisen from thence; and, during the last war, they

they were so rich and generous, that they made several free gifts to Louis XIV.; and so dexterous were they, that though our Admiralty always kept a stout squadron in the Atlantic, we were never able to capture one of their South-Sea traders. The reason of this was, that they always kept their ships extremely clean, having ports to careen at of which we knew not. In 1709, when I belonged to her majesty's ship the Loo, being one of the convoy that year to Newfoundland, we saw and chased upon that coast a ship of fifty guns, which we soon perceived to be French-built; but she crowded sail and soon left us. She had just careened at Placentia, and we wondered much to find such a ship in that part of the world. We afterwards learnt, from some French prisoners, that she was a French ship bound to St Malo, having two or three millions of dollars on board, and was then so trim that she trusted to her heels, and valued nobody. They went thus far to the north and west on purpose to have the advantage of a westerly wind, which seldom failed of sending them into soundings at one spirt, if not quite home. Since Placentia has been yielded to Great Britain, they now use St Catherina and Islagrande, on the coast of Brasil, and Martinico in the West Indies.

This trade succeeded so well, that all the merchants of St Malo engaged in it, sending every year to the number of twenty sail of ships. In 1721, I saw eleven sail of these together at one time on the coast of Chili, among which were several of fifty guns, and one called the *Fleur-de-luce*, which could mount seventy, formerly a man-of-war. As this trade was contrary to the *Assiento* treaty between Great Britain and Spain, memorials were frequently presented against it at Madrid by the court of London; and the king of Spain, willing to fulfil his engagements to the king of England, resolved to destroy this contraband French trade. As there was no other way to accomplish this but by sending a squadron of men-of-war into the South Sea, and as few of the Spaniards were acquainted with the navigation of Cape Horn, or could bear the extreme rigour of the climate, the court of Spain was obliged to use foreigners on this expedition, and the four ships sent out were both manned and commanded by Frenchmen. The squadron consisted of the *Gloucester*, of 50 guns, and 400 men, the *Ruby*, of 50 guns, and 330 men, both of these formerly English ships of war, the *Leon Franco*, of 60 guns, and 450 men, and a frigate of

40

40 guns, and 200 men. Monsieur *Martinet*, a French officer, was commodore of this squadron, and commanded the *Pembroke*,[1] and Monsieur *La Jonquiere* the Ruby. The French conducted the navigation round the cape very well, though in the middle of winter; but the last ship of the four, which was manned with Spaniards, could not weather Cape Horn, and was forced back to the Rio Plata, where she was cast away. As the Spaniards have little or no trade into any of the cold climates, and are unused to hard work, it is not to be wondered that they failed on this occasion, especially considering the improper season of the year. The Biscaneers, indeed, are robust enough fellows; and had the Leon Franco been manned with them, she had certainly doubled the cape along with the other three ships; but the Spaniards in general, since acquiring their possessions in America, have become so delicate and indolent, that it would be difficult to find an entire ship's company capable to perform that navigation.

The vast advantage of the trade of Chili by way of Cape Horn, is so obvious, that his catholic majesty is obliged by treaty to shut out all the European nations from it, as well as the English, although his own subjects make nothing of it, as it very rarely happens that a Spanish ship ventures to go round Cape Horn. Owing to this, all European goods sell enormously dear in Chili and Peru; insomuch, that I have been told at Lima, that they are often at 400 per cent. profit, and it may be fairly asserted, that the goods carried from France by Cape Horn are in themselves 50 per cent. better than those sent in the Cadiz *flota* to Carthagena and Vera Cruz, because the former are delivered in six months, fresh and undamaged, while the latter are generally eighteen months before they reach Chili. In the course of this trade, the French sold their goods, furnished themselves with provisions, and got home again, all within twelve or fourteen months.

When Martinet arrived on the coast of Chili in 1717, furnished with a commission from the king of Spain to take or destroy all the ships of his countrymen found trading in the South Sea, he soon had sufficient employment for his squadron; and of fourteen ships belonging to St Malo, then on the

[1] No such name occurs, in enumerating the squadron immediately before.—E.

the coast, only one escaped him, which lay hid in a land-locked creek unseen till he had gone to leeward. Although in this he executed the orders of his catholic majesty, and did a material benefit to the British South Sea company, yet he almost ruined the trading part of the creole Spaniards, as hindering the circulation of money and spoiling business, so that they could not bear the sight of the French men-of-war, though they liked the French merchant ships very much. On the other hand, imagining that they had done essential service to the Spaniards, the French expected to have received at least civil treatment in return, during their stay in these seas. As soon, however, as Martinet brought his prizes into Calao, and the Frenchmen had received their shares of the prize-money, forgetting the ancient antipathy of the Spaniards for the French, they gave themselves extravagant airs on shore, by dancing and drinking, which still more incensed the creolians against them, who called them cavachos and renegados, for falling foul of their own countrymen. From one thing to another, their mutual quarrels grew so high, that the Frenchmen were obliged to go about Lima and Calao in strong armed parties, the better to avoid outrages and affronts. At last, a young gentleman, who was ensign of the Ruby, and nephew to Captain La Jonquiere, was shot from a window, and the murderer took refuge in the great church of Calao. Martinet and La Jonquiere petitioned the viceroy to have the murderer delivered up to justice: But the viceroy, who was at the same time archbishop, would on no account consent to violate the privileges of the church. On this refusal, they called all their men on board by beat of drum, and laid the broadsides of their three ships to bear on the town of Calao, threatening to demolish the town and fortifications, unless the assassin were delivered up or executed. All this blustering, however, could not prevail upon the viceroy to give them any satisfaction, though they had several other men killed, besides that gentleman.

At length, unwilling to proceed to extremities, and no longer able to endure the place where his nephew had been murdered, La Jonquiere obtained leave of his commodore to make the best of his way home. About this time, many *padros* and many rich passengers were assembled at Conception in Chili, intending to take their passage to Europe in the French squadron, knowing that all ships bound for Cape Horn

Horn must touch at Conception, or some places thereabout, for provisions. La Jonquiere, having thus the start of his commodore, had all the advantage to himself of so many good passengers in his ship; for, as the king of Spain had no officer at Conception to register the money shipped at that place, these passengers and missionaries put astonishing sums of money on board the Ruby. They were thereby spared the trouble of a voyage to Panama or Acapulco, and travelling thence for Portobello or Vera Cruz, where they must have had their coffers visited, to see if the *indulto* of his majesty were fairly accounted for. They therefore saved every shilling of that *indulto*, as the Ruby touched first in France, where no cognizance whatever was taken of this affair. They also got clear of the other moiety payable in Spain, as they landed all their money in France.

Besides these rich passengers and their money, the Ruby had also on board a considerable sum arising to his catholic majesty from the confiscation of the thirteen captured interlopers, all of which, as I was informed, amounted to four millions of dollars in that ship. What a fine booty we missed therefore by the obstinacy of Shelvocke! For, when this ship, the Ruby, found us at the island of St Catharine, her company was so sickly that she had not above sixty sound men out of four hundred; so that La Jonquiere was actually afraid of us, and would not send his boat to the watering-place, where we kept guard, and our coopers and sail-makers were at work, till he had first obtained leave of our captain; neither is this strange, for he knew we had a consort, and was in Spain all the time he staid there, lest the Success should have joined us.

After Commodore Martinet had cleared the coast of Chili and Peru of his countrymen, he sent his brother-in-law, Monsieur de Grange, express with the news to Madrid, who went by way of Panama, Portobello, Jamaica, and London. On delivering his message, the king of Spain asked what he could do for him, when he humbly requested his majesty would give him the command of a ship, and send him again round Cape Horn into the South Sea. He accordingly got the Zelerin, of fifty guns. He came first to *Calais*,[2] where the

[2] This, certainly, is a mistake for Cadiz, often named Cales by English seamen; and, in fact, only a few lines lower down, the place is actually named Cales.—E.

the ship was getting ready, and was surprised to meet with a cold reception from the French merchants and other gentlemen of his acquaintance residing there; for, as there were merchants of various nations interested in the ships taken and confiscated in the South Sea, they universally considered him and all the French in that squadron as false brethren, for serving the crown of Spain to the prejudice of their own countrymen. Thus, while he expected to have had a valuable cargo consigned to his care, no man would ship the value of a dollar with him. Captain Fitzgerald, who was then at *Cales*, made him a considerable offer for the privilege of going out as his second officer, with liberty to take out what goods he might be able to procure, in his own name. As de Grange was not a little embarrassed, he accepted this offer, and procured a commission for Fitzgerald as second captain. They accordingly manned the Zelerin chiefly with French seamen, and some English, and got very well round Cape Horn. At this time our two privateers, the Success and Speedwell, were known to be in the South Seas, and the Zelerin was one of the ships commissioned by the viceroy of Peru to cruize for us. Fitzgerald sold all his goods to great advantage at Lima, where he continued to reside; while de Grange served as captain under Admiral Don Pedro Miranda, who took Hately and me prisoners.

Though great sufferers by so many confiscations, the merchants of St Malo were not entirely discouraged; for, in the year 1720, we found the Solomon of St Malo, of 40 guns, and 150 men, at *Ylo*, on the coast of Chili, with several Spanish barks at her stern. In the course of six weeks, she sold all her cargo, got in a supply of provisions, and left the coast without interruption, as by this time Martinet's squadron had left the coast. Encouraged by the success of the Solomon, the merchants of St Malo fitted out fourteen sail together, all of which arrived in the South Sea in the beginning of the year 1721. Three of the commanders of these ships, being well acquainted with the creolians, quickly sold their cargoes and returned home. About this time, the people of Lima judged that our privateers were gone off the coast, or at least would not commit any more hostilities, because of the truce between the two crowns. Wherefore, the three Spanish men-of-war that had been fitted out to cruize against us, were ordered against these fresh interlopers. I was on board the Flying-fish, an advice-boat that accompanied the

men-

men-of-war, when they came up with eleven sail of the St Malo ships, which were then altogether on the coast of Chili, and, instead of firing on them, the Spaniards joined them as friends. At first, expecting to have been attacked, the French ships drew up in a line, as if daring the ships of war. This seemed to me somewhat strange, that three such ships, purposely fitted out for this cruize, should decline doing their duty on their own coasts; for, had they proved too weak, they had ports of their own to retire to, under their lee. But the ships of war contented themselves with watching the motions of the interlopers, keeping them always in sight; and when any of the French ships drew near the shore, the Spaniards always sent a pinnace or long-boat along with her, carrying the Spanish flag, the sight of which effectually deterred the creolians from trading with the French. In this manner they contrived to prevent all these ships from disposing of their goods, except when they were met with at sea by chance, and sold some of their commodities clandestinely. At length, completely tired out by this close superintendance, the French got leave to take in provisions, and went home, at least half of their goods remaining unsold. Notwithstanding these losses and disappointments, and severe edicts issued against this trade in France, the merchants of St Malo still persist to carry it on, though privately, nor is it probable they will ever leave off so lucrative a commerce, unless prevented by the strong arm of power, or supplanted by some other nation.

§ 8. *Return of Betagh to England.*

I now return to my own affairs, and the manner of my return to England from Peru. I have already acknowledged the kind reception I met with from the admiral of the South Seas, Don Pedro Miranda, and the reasons of his treating us so civilly. I think it barely justice to mention the several favours I received, during the eleven months that I continued at Lima, particularly from Don Juan Baptista Palacio, a native of Biscay, a knight of the order of St Jago, who came weekly to the prison while we were there, and distributed money to us all, in proportion to our several ranks. Captain Nicholas Fitzgerald procured my enlargement, by becoming security for me; and he afterwards supplied

supplied me with money and necessaries, from that time till my departure; and procured for me and twenty more, a passage to Cadiz, in a Spanish advice-boat called the Flying-fish, of which our surgeon's mate, Mr Pressick, acted as surgeon, receiving wages, as did the rest of our men, being released from prison expressly to assist in navigating that vessel home to Spain. For my own part, being well treated, I did not think proper to eat the bread of idleness, but kept my watches as well as the other officers. And pray, what is the harm of all this? Though Shelvocke had the stupidity to call it treason; it must surely appear a very malicious, as well as an ignorant charge, after a man has been driven among the enemy, to call him a traitor because he has been kindly used, and for accepting his passage back again; and, because I was not murdered in Peru, I ought to be executed at home. This is Shelvocke's great Christian charity and good conscience! [1]

On my arrival at Cadiz, captain John Evers of the Britannia kindly gave me my passage to London, and entertained me at his own table. On my return to London, and representing the hardships I had undergone, nine honourable persons made me a present of ten guineas each; which afforded me the satisfaction of seeing, that such as were the best judges, had a proper idea of the miseries I had suffered, and approved the manner in which I had behaved, the only consolation I could receive in the circumstances in which I was left by that unfortunate voyage. The fair account I have given of facts, and the detail of my proceedings in the Spanish West Indies, together with the account of what I observed worthy of notice during my stay in these parts, will acquit me, I hope, in the opinion of every candid and impartial person, from the aspersions thrown upon me by Shelvocke, in the account he has published of his voyage.

Note.

"Betagh has fully shewn, that the navigation round Cape Horn is no such dangerous or wonderful voyage. If twenty ships from St Malo could perform it in one year, and not a single vessel either shipwrecked or forced to put back, what shall

[1] After all, had the Flying-fish been captured by a British cruizer, Betagh would have run great risk of being found guilty of treason for *keeping his watches*.—E.

shall hinder an English ship or an English fleet from doing the same? We see from the foregoing account, with how much ease the French carried on a prodigious trade to the South Seas, at a time when the appearance of an English ship there was esteemed a prodigy. We certainly can send our frigates there, as well as the French can their ships from St Malo; and it might be well worth the while of our merchants to send out ships to the coasts of Chili and Peru, laden with proper goods for that country."—*Harris.*

In the present day, this trade to the coasts of Chili and Peru has been resumed by the citizens of the United States; but the subjects of Britain are debarred from even attempting to take a share, because within the exclusive limits of the East India Company; although their ships never come nearer to the western coast of America than Canton in China, at the enormous distance of 174 degrees of longitude, and 59 degrees of latitude, counting from Canton in China to Conception in Peru, or upwards of *twelve thousand English miles.* It is certainly at least extremely desirable, that a trade of such promise should not remain any longer prohibited, merely to satisfy a punctilio, without the most distant shadow of benefit to the India Company, or to the nonentity denominated the South-sea Company.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XIII.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY COMMODORE ROGGEWEIN, IN 1721-1723.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

THERE *was*, perhaps, no country in the world where commerce was more profitable, or held more honourable, than in Holland, or where more respect and attention was shewn to it by the government. As the republic chiefly subsisted by trade, every thing relating to it was considered as an affair of a public nature, in which the welfare of the state was concerned, and highly deserving therefore of the strictest and readiest attention. The great companies in Holland, as in other countries, were considered as injurious to trade in some lights, yet necessary to its welfare in others. The *West India Company* of that country, originally erected in 1621, held, by an exclusive charter, the commerce of the coast of Africa, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and that of America, from the southern point of Newfoundland in the N. E. all along the eastern coast to the Straits of Magellan or Le Maire, and thence northwards again along the western coast, to the supposed Straits of Anian, thus including the entire coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The directors of this company consisted of seventy-two persons, divided into five chambers, of whom eighteen were chosen to administer the affairs of the Company, together with a nineteenth person, nominated by the States-General.

The affairs of this Company were once in so very flourishing a condition, that it was considered as even superior to their East India Company. This prosperity was chiefly ow-

[1] Harris, I. 256. Callender, III. 614.

ing to the happy success of their affairs at sea; as their admiral, Peter Haines, in the 1629, captured the Spanish plate fleet, laden with immense riches. They at one time made themselves masters of the greatest part of Brazil; and were so considerable that the great Count Maurice of Nassau did not think it beneath him to accept a commission from this Company as Governor-General of Brazil; which country, however, after it had cost them immense sums to defend, they at length lost. The term of their charter, originally limited to twenty-four years, expired in 1647, and was then renewed for other twenty-five years. During this second period, their affairs became so perplexed, so that the Company was dissolved towards the close of that term, with its own consent.

In 1674, a new company was erected, by letters patent from the States-General, with nearly the same powers and privileges, which has subsisted ever since with great reputation.[2] The capital of this new company consisted of six millions of florins, which are equal to 545,454l. 10s. 10d. 10-11ths sterling. And the limits of their authority are the western coast of Africa and both coasts of America, all the establishments of the Dutch in these countries being under their authority, so that any one who proposes a new scheme of commerce in those parts, must necessarily apply himself to that company. Under these circumstances, a Mr Roggewein, a person of parts and enterprize, formed a project for the discovery of the vast continent and numerous islands, supposed to be in the southern part of the globe, under the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, of which the world had hitherto only very imperfect notices from others; which project, with a plan for carrying the discovery into execution, they presented to the Dutch *East* India Company[3] in 1696, by which it was favourably received, and he was assured of receiving all the assistance and support he could desire or expect, as soon as the affairs of the Company would permit. But the disturbances which soon afterwards followed put a stop to the good intentions of the Company; and Mr Roggewein died before any thing could be done. Mr Roggewein was a gentleman

[2] This refers to the year 1743, when Harris wrote: It is hardly necessary to say, that Holland and its great commercial companies are now merely matters of history.—E.

[3] From what goes both before and after, this seems a mistake for the *West* India Company.—E.

tleman of the province of Zealand, who had addicted himself from his youth to mathematical studies, and we have reason to suppose recommended his projected discovery on his death-bed to his son.

After the death of his father, the younger Roggewein applied to his studies with much vigour, and qualified himself for the office of counsellor in the court of justice at Batavia, where he resided for many years. After his return from Java, where he had acquired a handsome fortune, he resolved upon carrying his father's projected discovery into execution; and, in the year 1721, presented a memorial to the *West* India Company, narrating the proposal of his father for discovering the southern continent and islands, which they had formerly been pleased to approve of, and which he was now ready to attempt. The Company received this memorial with readiness; and, as its affairs were now in better order, acquainted Mr Roggewein, that it would give immediate orders for equipping such a squadron as might be necessary for carrying his design into effect. The squadron accordingly fitted out on this occasion consisted of three ships: The Eagle of 36 guns and 111 men, commanded by Captain Job Coster, and in which Mr Roggewein embarked as Commodore; the Tienhoven of 28 guns and 100 men, commanded by Captain James Bowman; and the African, a galley armed with 14 guns, and carrying 60 men, commanded by Captain Henry Bosenthal.

It may be proper to acquaint the reader, that the subsequent account of this voyage is derived from an original journal, which never appeared before in our language, for which I was indebted to the gentleman who commanded the land-forces on board the Commodore, and whose name I am not at liberty to mention; neither that of another gentleman who was engaged in the voyage, and from whom I received considerable assistance. The nature of the expedition is sufficient in itself to recommend it to the notice of the curious; and the many remarkable particulars it contains, especially respecting the state of the Dutch Company in the Indies, renders it both a very entertaining and a most instructive performance.

Before proceeding to the narrative of this voyage, I hope to be indulged in making a few remarks, which may contribute both to amusement and information, and may clear up some points that might otherwise appear obscure in the following

lowing voyage. It is worth observing, that the Dutch West India Company had been long in a declining condition; which, instead of dispiriting the Directors, engaged them to turn their thoughts to every method that could be devised for recovering their affairs. There is so wide a difference between our English great chartered companies and those [formerly] in Holland, that it may not be amiss to give a concise account of the flourishing state of that Company, as it may shew what great things may be managed by a board of merchants, for such the Directors generally were.

It appears, from the books of the Company, that, in the space of thirteen years, from 1623 to 1636, the Company had fitted out 800 ships, either for war or trade, and that the expence of building, equipping, and seamen's wages had cost forty-five millions of florins, or upwards of *four millions* sterling: And, in the same space of time, the Company had taken from the enemy 545 vessels, valued at *sixty millions* of florins, or nearly *five and a half millions* sterling; besides to the value of *thirty millions* at the least, or nearly *two millions and a quarter* sterling, in spoils of various denominations. The greatest of their exploits was the capture of the Spanish *flota* at the Havannah, by their admiral Peter Heyne; by which they gained seven millions of dollars in money, or L. 2,625,000 sterling; besides ships, brass cannon, and other military stores, to the value of above ten millions.* Such were the flourishing times of the Company.

The causes of their decay seem to have been principally the following. *First*, their emulation of the East India Company, which induced them to make the conquest of Brazil from Portugal, the crown of which country had been usurped by their arch enemy the king of Spain. This was atchieved at a vast expence, and Count Maurice of Nassau was appointed governor-general, who conducted their affairs with great skill and prudence. *Secondly*, owing to the desire of the Company to conduct all things, and repining at the expence incurred by that prince in the government of Brazil, was another cause of their misfortunes: For the merchants, who had conducted their affairs with great wisdom

* Harris does not say whether dollars or florins: If the former, equal to L. 2,250,000 sterling at 4s. 6d. the dollar; if the latter, a little above L. 900,000 sterling at 11 florins to the pound sterling; both of these the old par of exchange.—E.

dom and capacity, while they confined themselves to commerce and maritime war, shewed themselves only indifferent statesmen, and soon lost all that Prince Maurice had gained, and loaded the Company with so heavy a debt, as compelled them in the end to consent to its dissolution.

The new West India Company, warned by the example of its predecessors, has kept more within bounds, and has certainly managed its affairs with great prudence and economy. Having formed a project in 1714, for uniting the East and West India Companies into one, [5] and the proposition being rejected, the directors of the West India Company very wisely turned their thoughts another way; and it is not improbable, that the rejection of their proposal on this occasion may have induced them to give encouragement to the proposition of Roggewein: For, being disappointed in their aim of coming in for a share in the commodities of the East Indies, they were desirous of acquiring the same articles of trade by some other means, expecting to have found these in the continent or islands proposed to be discovered by Roggewein. This also accounts for the extraordinary heat and violence of the Dutch East India Company, against those who were engaged on the present expedition, and is the true secret of the dispute so warmly carried on by the two Companies, and so wisely decided by the States-General. When the Dutch East India Company persecuted and destroyed Le Maire for his voyage of discovery, under pretence of interfering within their exclusive boundaries, the government did not interfere, because at that time the power of the East India Company was of the highest importance to the state: But, as the government of Holland became better established, and especially since a share in the public administration has been acquired by such as are conversant in trade, the concerns of the East India Company have been viewed in a new light. The first who explained this matter clearly was that consummate statesman and true patriot, John de Witte, whose words are most worthy the attention of the reader.

"When the East India Company had attained to a certain extent of power and grandeur, its interests came not only to

[5] A long, indistinct, and uninteresting account of this project is here omitted, which Harris alleges might have transferred the whole commerce of Europe to the Dutch, but for which opinion he advances no substantial reasons, or rather none at all.—E.

to clash with, but grew absolutely opposite to those of the country. For, whereas the advantage of the nation consists in the increase of manufactures, commerce, and freight of ships; the interests of the Company are to promote the sale of foreign manufactures, and that with the smallest extent of traffic and navigation that can be contrived. Hence, if the East India Company can gain more by importing Japan cloths, India quilts, carpets, and chintzes, than by raw silk; or, if the Company, by creating an artificial scarcity of nutmegs, mace, cloves, cinnamon, and other spices, can raise their price so as to gain as much profit by the sale of 100 tons, as it would otherwise gain by the sale of 1000 tons, we are not to expect that it will import raw silks, or be at the expence of transporting 1000 tons of spice; though the former would assist and encourage our manufactures at home, and the latter would increase our navigation."

This chain of reasoning is so plain, and so evidently agrees with the interests of all nations, as well as with those of Holland, that it is impossible for any unprejudiced person not to discern that all exclusive companies destroy, instead of promoting, the commerce of the countries in which they are established. The same great statesman already quoted observes, "That the more any country extends its foreign conquests, the more of its stock must necessarily be spent, for the preservation and defence of these conquests: And consequently, by how much the greater are its dominions, so much the less is that company able to prosecute the trade, for the promotion of which it was erected."[6]—*Harris.*

SECTION

[6] The remarks of Harris on this voyage are extended to a far greater length than have been here adopted, and are many of them loose and uninteresting; but some of those here inserted have a strong reference to a most important subject now under consideration of the legislature; and the notices respecting the Dutch West India Companies are curious in themselves, as well as upon a subject very little known in this country.

The subject of this voyage round the world is principally exhausted in the *seven* first sections; all those subsequent being chiefly a detail of the Indian settlements of the Dutch East India Company, as it was in the year 1722, almost a century ago. These certainly might have been omitted on the present occasion, without injury to the present article, as a *circumnavigation:* But, as conveying a considerable mass of information, respecting the *Dutch possessions in India,* now all belonging to Britain, and respecting which hardly any thing has been published in the English language, it has been deemed indispensable to preserve them.—E.

SECTION I.

Narrative of the Voyage from Holland to the Coast of Brazil.[1]

THE small squadron of three ships, already enumerated, sailed from Amsterdam on the 16th July, 1721, and arrived at the Texel in thirty-six hours, where they were provided with every thing requisite for so long a voyage. All things being in readiness, they sailed with a fair wind on the 21st August; but, as the wind changed next day, they were three days in beating to windward through the British channel, after which they continued their course to the S.W. for the coast of Barbary, but were opposed by a heavy storm which did them considerable damage. To this a dead calm succeeded, during which the water ran mountains high, owing to agitation they had been thrown into by the storm. By the rolling of the ships during the calm, several injuries were sustained, one of the vessels losing its main-top-mast and mizen-mast; and the main-yard of the Commodore came down with such force as to wound several of the people on deck. After two days the wind freshened again, and they continued their course S.W. towards the Canaries, amusing themselves with observing the manner in which the flying-fish endeavours to escape from its enemies, the albicores and bonitoes. The *flying-fish* are not larger than a herring, and raise themselves into the air by means of two long fins, one on each side, not much unlike the wings of a bat in strength and texture. They are considered as good eating, and the sailors are always well pleased when they are met with in plenty. The *bonito* is about two feet long, of a greyish colour, finely streaked from head to tail; but the flesh is hard, dry, and disagreeably tasted. The *albicore* is generally five or six feet long, and sometimes weighs 150 pounds. They saw likewise several water-fowls, particularly *teal*, which the seamen account a sign of land being near.

While in lat. 28° N. and soon expecting to see the Canaries, a sail was descried from the mast-head carrying English colours. On drawing near she struck her colours and bore

[1] In the various steps of this voyage, the merely uninteresting journal or log-book incidents have been materially abbreviated.—E.

bore away, but re-appeared in about an hour, having four sail more in her company, sometimes carrying white, sometimes red, and sometimes black colours, which gave reason to suspect that they were pirates. The Commodore immediately made the signal for the line of battle, and all hands went to work in clearing the ship for action, filling grenades, and preparing every thing for the ensuing engagement, in which they fortunately had the advantage of the weather-gage. Observing this, the pirates put themselves into a fighting posture, struck their red flag, and hoisted a black one, on which was a death's head in the centre, surmounted by a powder horn, and two cross bones underneath. They likewise formed the line, and commenced a smart action. The pirates fought very briskly for some time, as believing the Dutch ships to be merchantmen; but after two hours cannonade, perceiving the Commodore preparing to board the vessel to which he was opposed, the pirates spread all their canvass, and crowded away as fast as they could sail. Commodore Roggewein, on seeing them bear away, called out, *Let the rascals go:* In which he strictly obeyed his instructions; as all the ships belonging to the Dutch East and West India Companies have strict orders to pursue their course, and never to give chase. In this action, four men were killed, and nine wounded in the Commodore, the other two ships having seven slain and twenty-six wounded. The carpenters also had full employment in stopping leaks, and repairing the other damages sustained.

Continuing their voyage, they had sight of Madeira on the 15th November, and in the neighbourhood saw a desert island which is much frequented by the pirates, for wood and water and other refreshments. They afterwards had sight of the Peak of Teneriffe, which is generally esteemed the highest single mountain in the world, on which account the geographers of Holland adopt it as the first meridian in their maps and charts; while the French and English of late incline to fix their first meridians at their respective capitals of Paris and London. These differences are apt to create much confusion in the longitudes of places, when not explained by the writers who use these several modes of reckoning; on which account Lewis XIII. of France, by edict in 1634, endeavoured to obviate this inconvenience, by directing the first meridian to be placed in the island of Ferro, the most westerly of the Canaries.

Canarics.[1] From these islands they directed their course for the islands of Cape Verde, so named from Cabo Verde, or the Green Cape, a point or mountain on the coast of Africa, called *Arlinarium* by Ptolemy.

This cape is bounded by two rivers, the Senegal and Gambia, called by the ancients the *Garatius* and *Stachiris.* It has an island to the west, which is frequented by an infinite number of birds, the eggs of which are frequently gathered by mariners going this way. This cape is dangerous to land upon, because of a great many sunken rocks about it. The continent is here inhabited by negroes, who trade with all nations, and speak many languages, especially French and Portuguese. Most of them go naked, except a piece of cloth about their middle, but their princes and great men wear long garments of calico striped with blue, and made like shifts; they hang also little square bags of leather on their arms and legs, but we could not learn of them what these bags contain.[2] They wear necklaces made of sea-horses teeth, alternating with glass beads; and have caps of blue and white striped calico on their heads. They are a prudent and wise people, cultivating their soil, which bears good rice and other articles sufficient for their maintenance; and the richer people keep cattle, which are very dear, as being scarce. They have many good blacksmiths, and iron is much valued among them, being forged into fish-spears, implements for cultivating the ground, and various weapons, as the heads of arrows, darts, and javelins. Their religion seems to border on Mahometism, as they are all circumcised; but they have little knowledge of the true God, except among a few who converse with Christians. They are very lascivious, and may have as many wives as they please; but the women are seldom contented with one husband, and are passionately fond of strangers. The whole country is under subjection to the governors or head-men of the various towns and villages, who row on board such ships as arrive, making them pay customs. Several Portuguese reside here, who trade freely with all nations, but have no power or authority, except over their own slaves and servants.

Having

[1] The Royal Observatory at Greenwich is now the first meridian in British maps and globes, from which St Paul's in London is 0° 5′ 37″ W. the observatory of Paris 2° 20′ E. Teneriffe peak 16° 40′ W. and Ferro town 17° 45′ 50″ W.

[2] These are called *obi,* containing a variety of ridiculous trash, and are held in superstitious esteem as amulets.—E.

Having the advantage of a strong N.E. wind, they took their departure from Cape de Verde, and continued their course for six weeks, without coming to anchor or handing a sail. In this long passage, they had some days in which the heat was almost insupportable, and the crew began to murmur excessively on account of being at short allowance of water. On this occasion one of the swabbers got into the hold, and, being extremely thirsty, pierced a cask of brandy, of which he pulled so heartily that he was soon intoxicated to a degree of madness. In this condition he staggered into the cook-room, where he threw down a pan of grease, and being sharply reproved by the cook, drew his knife and rushed upon him. Some of the crew gathered about him and wrenched the knife out of his hand, but not till he had drawn it two or three times across the cook's face. For this they drubbed him soundly, which he resented so deeply that he seized a knife as soon as he got loose, and gave himself several stabs in the belly. The utmost care was taken of his recovery, in order to make him a public example, to prevent such actions in future among the crew; and after his recovery he was punished in the following manner. Being declared infamous at the fore-mast, he was thrice keel-hauled, and had 300 strokes on the buttocks, after which his right hand was fastened to the mast with his own knife. When he had stood some time in this condition, he was put in chains on the fore-castle, being allowed nothing but bread and water for some days; and was continued in irons to be set on shore at the first barren island they came to.

Continuing their voyage till near the line, they were much incommoded by the shifting of the wind, and by scarcity of water, many of the crew falling ill of the scurvy. When it sometimes fell entirely calm, the heat of the sun became more than ordinarily oppressive, owing to which some of the men became quite distracted, others fell into high fevers, and some had fits like the epilepsy. Their water, as it grew low, stunk abominably, and became full of worms. The salt provisions were in a manner quite spoiled, and served only to turn their stomachs and increase their thirst. Hunger is said to be the greatest of torments, but they had reason to consider thirst as the greatest misery incident to human nature. At this time they often observed towards evening that the sea appeared all on fire; and taking up some buckets of water in this condition, they observed that it was full of an infinite

number

number of little globules, of the size, form, and colour of pearls. These retained their lustre for some time when held in the hand, but on pressure seemed nothing more than an earthy fat substance like mud.

They at length crossed the line, with the loss only of one man, who died of a high fever; and on getting into the latitude of 3° S. they fell into the true trade-wind, before which they scudded along at a great rate. In lat. 5° S. they had the sun directly vertical, so that they were some days without any observation. In 6° S. they caught many dorados and dolphins, both, in the opinion of the author of this voyage, being the same fish, of which the dolphin is the male and the dorado the female. Some of these are six feet long, but not of proportional bulk. In the water they appear excessively beautiful, their skins shining as if streaked with burnished gold; but lose their splendid appearance on being taken out of the water. Their flesh is very sweet and well flavoured, so that the seamen always feast when they can procure plenty of this fish. They saw also abundance of sharks, many of which are ten feet long. Their flesh is hard, stringy, and very disagreeably tasted; yet the seamen frequently hang them up in the air for a day or two, and then eat them: Which compliment the surviving sharks never fail to return when a seaman falls in their way, either dead or alive, and seem to attend ships for that purpose.

Section II.

Arrival in Brazil, with some Account of that Country.

Coming near the coast of Brazil, their design was to have anchored at the island *Grande*, but finding they had passed that island, they continued their course till off Porto, in lat. 24° S. where they came to anchor. Some of the ship's company of the commodore then got into the boat in order to go on shore, both for the purpose of procuring wood and water and other refreshments, and in order to bury one of their seamen who had died. Before they could get on shore, they descried a body of Portuguese well armed moving along the coast, who seemed to prevent them from landing, and beckoned the Dutch to keep off, threatening to fire if they attempted to land: But, on shewing them the dead body, they allowed

allowed them to land, and even shewed them a place in which to inter their dead companion. Being desirous of procuring some intelligence, the Dutch asked many questions about the country, but could only get for answer, that Porto was an advanced port to St Sebastian, not marked in the charts, and that they were inhabitants of Rio Janeiro, which lay at the distance of eight miles.[1] The Dutch endeavoured to persuade them to go on board the commodore, but they refused, fearing they might be pirates, which frequently used to come upon the coast, and, under pretence of getting fresh water, would land and pillage any of the little towns near the sea.

About six months before the arrival of Roggewein at this place, a pirate had been there, and, while the crew were preparing to make a descent, a French ship of force arrived, which sent her to the bottom with one broadside. She sank in thirteen fathoms, and as she was supposed to have seven millions on board,[2] they had sent for divers from Portugal, in order to attempt recovering a part of her treasure. However, by dint of entreaties and the strongest possible assurance of safety, two of them were prevailed upon to go on board the commodore, where they were very kindly treated, and had clothes given them, by which they were induced to carry the squadron into a safe port, which was most serviceable to men in their condition, almost worn out with fatigues, and in a manner destroyed for want of water.

The harbour of Porto affords good anchorage in from six to eight fathoms. In entering it on the S.W. the main land is on the right, and a large island on the left, all the coast appearing very high land, consisting of mountains and intermediate vallies, overgrown with trees and shrubs. Porto is in a pleasant situation, but at this time had no inhabitants. They caught here both fish and tortoises of exquisite flavour, and so very nourishing, that about forty of the people who were ill of the scurvy, recovered very fast. Having remained there two days, in which time they supplied themselves with wood

[1] There must be a considerable mistake here in regard to the latitude of Porto, said to be in 24° S. as Rio Janeiro is in lat. 22° 54′ S. and must therefore have been eighty leagues distant. Perhaps the eight miles in the text, as the distance to Rio Janeiro, ought to have been eighty leagues or Dutch miles.—E.

[2] This is a most inconclusive mode of expression, perhaps meaning Dutch florins, and if so, about £636,363 sterling.—E.

wood and water, they weighed anchor, and in six leagues sailing to the S.W. came into the road of St Sebastian. Just when entering the mouth of the river a violent storm arose, on which they had to drop their anchors, lest they had been driven on the rocks, and to wait the return of the tide in that situation. They entered the port next day, and came to anchor just before the town, which they saluted, but without being answered, either because the Portuguese guns were not in order, or because the inhabitants were not pleased with their arrival, suspecting them of being pirates, though under the Dutch flag. In order to remove these apprehensions, Roggewein wrote to the governor, informing him what they were, and desiring to be furnished with cattle, vegetables, fruits, and other refreshments for payment, also requesting the use of a few huts on shore for the recovery of the sick men. The governor made answer, that these things were not in his power, as he was subordinate to the governor of Rio de Janeiro, to whom he should dispatch an express that evening, and hoped the commodore would give him time to receive the orders of his superior officer. But Roggewein was by no means satisfied with this answer, giving the governor to know, if he refused to deal with him by fair means and for ready money as offered, he should be obliged to have recourse to force, though much against his inclinations. Having learnt that there was a Franciscan monastery in the town, Roggewein sent also to inform the fathers of his arrival, accompanying his message by a present.

It happened fortunately for the Dutch, that a native of Utrecht, one Father Thomas, belonged to this monastery, who came immediately on board, accompanied by several other monks. He was so much delighted at the sight of his countrymen, that he declared he should now die in peace, having earnestly wished for twenty-two years to enjoy the satisfaction he was now gratified with. The commodore gave him a kind welcome, and presented him with whatever was deemed useful for the monastery. The prior, who was of the party on this occasion, begged the commodore to have patience till the return of the express from Rio de Janeiro, and promised to use his interest with the governor, to induce him to furnish the demanded refreshments, so that they parted well satisfied with each other. In the mean time, the Portuguese came down to the coast in large bodies well armed, posting themselves in such places as they judged the

Dutch

Dutch might attempt to put their men on shore; and at the approach of a Dutch pinnace, thought proper to fire at her, by which one of the Dutchmen was dangerously wounded in the shoulder. The boat's crew returned the fire by a general discharge of their fire-arms, by which two of the Portuguese were brought down, and the rest made a precipitate retreat. The Dutch then landed immediately, filling what water they had occasion for, and returned on board.

On the report of what had happened, which he deemed an act of hostility, Roggewein made immediate dispositions for attacking the town, ordering his smallest ship to go as near the place as possible, while the Teinhoven was ordered to watch the coast, and the commodore laid his own ship opposite the monastery, as if he had intended to batter it down. All this was merely to frighten the Portuguese into better behaviour, and it had the desired effect, as the deputy-governor came soon after on board, and entered into a treaty, granting every thing desired. He at the same time expressed considerable doubts of being paid for what they might furnish, as a French ship had been lately supplied with necessaries, and at its departure the French captain threatened to burn the town about their ears, if they insisted on payment according to agreement and his promises on first coming in. The sick were now landed on the island, and the whole of the ships companies were daily furnished by the Portuguese with beef, mutton, fowls, vegetables, fruits, and every thing else they wanted. The ships companies also had leave to go on shore, and soon contracted acquaintance among the Portuguese, from whom they obtained sugar, tobacco, brandy, and every thing else they wished for, in exchange for European goods, although the governor had strictly prohibited all commerce, under the strictest penalties. Thus, in a very short time the Portuguese became so well satisfied of the honesty and good intentions of the Dutch, that they brought back all their rich effects, formerly carried out of town when the ships first arrived. The Portuguese, however, complained loudly of the bad usage they met with from the French, who came frequently to this place with their ships, taking whatever they pleased by force, and plundering the houses in which they were permitted to lodge the sick; owing to which the Portuguese believed that all other Europeans would treat them in the same manner.

The

The town of St Sebastians is situated in lat. 24° S. and long. 60° W.[3] being a place of moderate extent, only indifferently fortified by an inclosure of palisades, with a few cannon for its defence. The church however is a beautiful building, and the palace of the governor is very magnificent; but the houses of the inhabitants are only such as are commonly met with among the Spanish and Portuguese colonists in America. The Franciscan monastery stands on the S. side of the town, and accommodates about thirty monks very conveniently. The prior shewed to the commodore and his officers a curious idol, which he said had been worshipped by the ancient natives of the place. It was the image of a creature half tiger half lion, about four feet high and a foot and a half round. Its feet resembled the paws of a lion, and the head was adorned with a double crown, in which were stuck twelve Indian darts, one of which on each side was broken. On each shoulder there was a large wing like that of a stork. In the inside was seen the statue of a man, completely armed in the manner of the country, having a quiver of arrows at his back, a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right. The tail of this strange idol was very long, and twisted three or four times round the body of the man. It had been called *Nasil Lichma*, by its worshippers, and the prior said that it was made of gold; but the author of this voyage suspected it was only gilded. The monks had also a numerous collection of European and American curiosities, which they exhibited at the same time.

The port, or river rather, of St Sebastian, is three or four leagues in length, and about one league broad, having a very fine island on the N.E. of about four miles round, and there are smaller islands on all the other sides of this haven. The country of Brazil is very large and rich, insomuch that the king of Portugal is said to draw as great a revenue from hence, as the king of Spain from all his vast possessions in America. Its capital is Bahia, or St Salvador, besides which there

[3] It is impossible to reconcile this longitude with any of the first meridians mentioned in a former note, or indeed with any known geographical principles. It is 45° 30′ W. from Greenwich. If reckoned from the meridian of Teneriffe, said to be that used by the Dutch, this would place it 21° 10′ too far west, as Teneriffe is 16° 40′ W. from Greenwich. This place, in an island of the same name, has to be carefully distinguished from the city of St Sebastian, now more commonly known by the name of Rio de Janeiro.—E.

there are many other towns, as Siara, Olinda, Rio de Janeiro, St Vincent, and others. The country was discovered in 1590; but even at this day the Portuguese have not penetrated above eighty leagues into the interior. The soil is good, and the country would doubtless produce abundance of corn and wine for the use of its inhabitants; but, from a principle of policy, the colonists are not permitted to cultivate these productions, and are consequently supplied with them from Portugal. It is the common opinion that the ancient inhabitants were *anthropophagi*, or cannibals, and it is even said that human flesh was sold in their markets, as commonly as beef and mutton, but of this there is no authentic proof.*

Such of the natives as were seen were large dark-complexioned men, having thick lips, flat noses, and very white teeth. The Portuguese are numerous in Brazil, both creoles, and such as come from time to time from Portugal, to repair their broken fortunes. A little time before the arrival of Roggewein, the Portuguese had discovered a diamond mine not far from St Sebastian, of which at that time they were not in full possession, but were meditating an expedition against the Indians, in order to become sole masters of so valuable a prize; and with this view they invited the Dutch to join them, promising them a share in the riches in the event of success. By these means, nine of our soldiers were tempted to desert. I know not the success of this expedition; but it is probable that it succeeded, as great quantities of diamonds have since been imported from Brazil into Europe. They are said to be found on the tops of mountains among a peculiar red earth containing a great deal of gold; and, being washed down by the great rains and torrents into the vallies, are there gathered in lavaderas by negroes employed for the purpose.

Brazil abounds with numerous sorts of beasts, birds, and fish, both wild and tame. They have tigers that do a great deal of mischief, also elephants in great abundance, the teeth of

* There is no doubt that at least some of the tribes roasted and eat their prisoners, like the Caribs of the West Indies. But certainly they had not arrived to that state of civilization as to have markets; and beef and mutton were unknown in America, till carried there from Europe.—E.

of which are of great value.[5] There is no country on earth where serpents, and other venomous reptiles, are more frequent, or of larger size. So far as the Portuguese power and colonization extends, the popish religion is established; but vast numbers of the indigenous natives of the country remain unsubdued, and continue their original idolatry, being of such cruel and vindictive dispositions, that when a Christian falls into their hands, the best thing that can happen to him is to have his throat cut, as they are, for the most part, put to death by means of cruel tortures. The air of the country, though excessively hot at certain times of the year, is extremely wholesome, as we experienced by our speedy recovery from the scurvy and other distempers. About St Sebastian there are vast quantities of venomous musquetoes, which sting to such a degree that we were all covered over with blisters. Our pilot, having drank too freely of the country rum, and afterwards fallen asleep in the open air, had his head, face, arms, and legs so severely stung, that his life was in imminent danger, and he recovered after a long time, not without much care.

While here, the commodore kept up a very strict discipline over his people; and some of his sailors being complained against as having maltreated some Indian women, he caused them to be severely punished, and would never afterwards allow them to go on shore. The Dutch and Portuguese agreed extremely well, but the governor was far from being pleased with his visitors, more especially because he had learnt from some of the deserters that the object of the expedition was to make discoveries in the south. For this reason he practised every art he could devise to hinder and distress them, and furnished them with provisions only from day to day, that they might not increase their sea-stores. He also frequently talked of there being five or six Portuguese men-of-war in Rio de Janeiro, in order to put the Dutch in fear of being attacked, and actually sent for the only ship that was there at the time, to come to St Sebastian. Roggewein perfectly understood the meaning of all this, of which he took no notice, and complied exactly with the terms of the

[5] There are animals of the tyger kind in Brazil and other parts of America, and the Jaguar, Owza, or Brazilian tyger, is probably the one here meant. No elephants exist in America, and their teeth, mentioned in the text, must have come from some of the Portuguese African possessions. —E.

the agreement entered into with the deputy governor, saving part of the fresh provisions daily and salting them, cleaned and repaired his ship in succession, and took on board tobacco, sugar, and every thing else he wanted, till in a condition to continue the voyage. He then fully satisfied the governor for every thing procured at this place, making payment in fire-arms, hats, silk stockings, linen, stock-fish, and other European articles, and made him a considerable present besides. In return, the governor sent him some black cattle, and gave him a certificate of his honourable behaviour.

Section III.

Incidents during the Voyage from Brazil to Juan Fernandez, with a Description of that Island.

Every thing being settled at St Sebastian, Roggewein set sail towards the S.W. and falling in with a desert island about three leagues from the coast, he set on shore the swabber who had attempted to murder the cook, pursuant to his sentence, as formerly related. Leaving the coast of Brazil, the commodore proposed to have visited an island called Aukes Magdeland, after the name of its supposed discoverer, who is said to have seen a light on that island about an hundred years before, but did not go on shore. This island was said to be situated in the latitude of 30° S. and as being in the route of the navigation towards the South Sea, and in a good climate, he proposed to have settled a colony there for the service of such ships as might afterwards be bound for the *Southern Indies*, the object he was now in search of, where they might be supplied with wood, water, and other refreshments. But after much pains, he could neither discover that nor any other island in or near the latitude of 30° S. He therefore altered his course, steering for those called the *New Islands* by the Dutch, and the *Islands of St Lewis*, by a French privateer who first discovered them. Keeping always within forty or fifty leagues of the American coast, the squadron prosecuted its course very happily, having always the advantage of the land and sea-breezes; whereas, if it had kept farther from land, it would infallibly have fallen in with the western trade-wind.

On the 21st December, being in lat. 40°. S. they were assailed

sailed by a hurricane, attended with thunder and lightning, during which storm the Tienhoven parted company, and did not rejoin till three months afterwards. The extreme violence of this hurricane only lasted about four hours, during which they every moment expected to have been swallowed up by the waves, which ran mountain-high. These hurricanes are extremely dangerous, and are far more frequent in the American seas than in the East Indies. They usually happen at that season of the year when the west monsoon reigns, which is from the 20th July to the 15th October, for which reason ships usually remain then in port till they think the danger is over. Yet as storms of this kind are not exactly periodical, ships that trust to such calculations are often caught, as there are some years in which there are no hurricanes, and others in which they are more frequent and violent, and at unusual periods. The ordinary, or at least the surest sign of an approaching hurricane, is very fair weather, and so dead a calm that not even a wrinkle is to be seen on the surface of the sea. A very dark cloud is then seen to rise in the air, not larger than a man's hand, and in a very little time the whole sky becomes overcast. The wind then begins to blow from the west, and in a short space of time whirls round the compass, swelling the sea to a dreadful height; and as the wind blows now on one side and then on the other, the contrary waves beat so forcibly on the ships that they seldom escape foundering or shipwreck. On first perceiving the before-mentioned small cloud, the best thing a ship can do is to stand out to sea. It is remarkable that the hurricanes are less frequent as we approach the higher latitudes in either hemisphere, so that they are not to be feared beyond the lat. of 55° either S. or N. It is also remarked, that hurricanes rarely happen in the middle of the wide ocean, but chiefly on the coasts of such countries as abound with minerals, and off the mouths of large rivers. Another surprising phenomenon at sea is what is called a whirlwind water-spout, or syphon, which often carries up high into the air whatever comes within the circle of its force, as fish, grasshoppers, and other things, where they appear like a thick vapour or cloud. The English fire at a water-spout or whirlwind, and often succeed in stopping its progress; the circular motion ceasing, and all that it had taken up falling immediately down, when the sea becomes presently calm.

On the cessation of the hurricane, the commodore and his remaining

remaining consort, the African galley, continued their course to the S.S.W. till in the height of the Straits of Magellan. They here fell in with an island of near 200 leagues in circumference, and about 14 leagues from the mainland of America, and seeing no smoke, nor any boat, or other kind of embarkation, they concluded that it was uninhabited. The west coast of this island was discovered by a French privateer, and named the Island of St Lewis; but being seen afterwards by the Dutch, who fancied its many capes to be distinct islands, they called it *New Islands*. Considering that, if ever it should be inhabited, its inhabitants would be the antipodes of the Dutch, Roggewein gave it the name of *Belgia Australis*. It is in the lat. of 52° S. and long. of 95° W.[1]

The land appeared extremely beautiful and very fertile, being chequered with mountains and vallies, all of which were cloathed with fine straight trees. The verdure of the meadows, and freshness of the woods, afforded a delightful prospect, insomuch that all the people believed they should have found abundance of excellent fruits. But the commodore would not delay by permitting them to land, being anxious to get round Cape Horn, and chose therefore to defer a thorough examination of this new country till his return from discovering the southern continent and islands: This, however reasonable, proved vain in the sequel, as he was forced to return with his squadron by the East Indies; and this fine island, therefore, is likely to continue in a great measure unknown.

Quitting this island, they made for the Straits of Magellan, in order to wait a wind favourable for their navigation, which took place in a few days: for, if it had continued to blow from the west, they could not possibly have got into the South Seas. They now resolved to attempt the Straits of Le Maire, as infinitely more commodious than the Straits of Magellan, in which latter the sea has but small depth, and the meeting of the north and south currents occasion continual rough seas. The bottom also of the Straits of Magellan is rocky, affording no good anchorage; and the flows of winds

[1] There is not the smallest doubt that the text refers to the Falkland islands or Malouines, which consist of two principal islands, called West and East Islands, besides a number of islets, about 360 English miles from the continent of South America. The centre of the west, or principal island, is in lat. 51° 25′ S. and long. 60° W. from Greenwich.—E.

winds from the mountains on both sides are apt to endanger all ships that endeavour to pass through these perilous straits. Having now a fair wind, they continued their course to the south for the Straits of Le Maire, seeing on their way abundance of whales and other large fish of that kind. Among the rest, they were followed for a whole month by that kind of fish which is called the *Sea Devil* by the Dutch sailors, which they took the utmost pains to catch, but to no purpose. It has a large head, a thick short body, and a very long tail, like that which painters bestow on the dragon.

Arriving in the lat. of 55° S. they soon after saw State Island, or Staten-land, which forms one side of the Straits of Luttaire. The fury of the waves, and the clashing of contending currents, gave such terrible shocks to their vessels, that they expected every moment their yards should have been broken, and their masts to come by the board. They would gladly have come to anchor, especially on finding the bottom to be good, but the weather and the sea were so rough that they durst not. They passed through the straits, which are about ten leagues long, by six over, with a swiftness not to be expressed, owing to the force and rapidity of the current. After getting through, this current, together with the westerly winds, carried them a great way from the coast of America; and, that they might be sure to sail free of Cape Horn, they sailed as high as the lat. of 62° 30′ S. For three weeks together, they sustained the most dreadful gusts of a furious west wind, accompanied with hail and snow, and the most piercing frost. While enveloped in thick mists, they were apprehensive of being driven by the extreme violence of the winds upon mountains of ice, where they must inevitably have perished.

Whenever the weather was in any degree clear or serene, they had scarcely any night; for, being in the middle of January, 1722, the summer was then in its height, and the days at their utmost length.

These mountains of ice, of which they were so much afraid, are certain proofs that the southern countries extend quite to the pole, as well as those under the north; for, without question, these vast hills of ice cannot be produced in the sea, nor formed by the common force of cold. It must therefore be concluded, that they are occasioned by the sharp piercing winds blowing out of the mouths of large rivers.[2] It

[2] This is quite erroneous, as it is now well known that the sea water

It is no less certain, that the currents discerned in this ocean must all proceed from the mouths of large rivers, which, rolling down from a high continent, fall with such impetuosity into the sea, as to preserve a great part of their force long after they have entered it.[3] The great quantity of birds seen here was an additional proof that land was not far off. It may be asked, whether this land be inhabited or not? For my part I believe it is. It may be again asked, How men should live in such a climate, in the lat. of 70° S. where the winter is so very long, the summer so short, and where they must be involved for so great a portion of the year in perpetual night? To this I answer, That such as dwell there come only in the fine season in order to fish, and retire on the approach of winter, as is done by many of the inhabitants of Russia and of Davis Straits, who, when they have provided themselves with fish on the coasts of a frozen climate, retire farther inland, and eat in their cabins during the winter the fish they have caught in the summer. If the people who inhabit Greenland and Davis Straits are to be believed, the country is inhabited even as high as 70° N. both winter and summer; and what is practicable in one country, cannot justly be reputed impracticable when supposed in another.[4]

Being driven 500 leagues from the continent by the contrary winds, the commodore now believed that he was beyond Cape Horn to the westwards, and steered therefore N.E. by N. in order to fall in with the coast of Chili. On the

freezes, when reduced to a sufficient degree of cold, considerably lower than what is requisite for freezing fresh water. On this occasion, the salt precipitates from the freezing water, and the ice of sea water is sufficiently fresh for use when melted, if the first running be thrown away, which often contains salt, either adhering to the surface, or contained in cells.—E.

[3] This is poor reasoning to support a preconceived theory of a southern continent, and might easily have been answered by themselves, as the prodigious current which set them through the Straits of Le Maire with such rapidity, could not have originated from any such cause. Currents are well known to be occasioned by the tides, the diurnal revolution of the earth, and by prevailing winds, influenced and directed by the bendings of coasts, the interposition of islands, and the position of straits. No such currents could possibly come from rivers in an austral land, locked up in ever-during frost, should any such land exist.—E.

[4] It might be asked, whence are these fishers to come? Not surely from among the miserable inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. A miserable hypothesis is thus often obstinately defended by wretched arguments.—E.

the 10th March, being in lat. 37° 30′ S. they discovered the coast of Chili to their great joy, and anchored soon after on the coast of the island of Mocha, which is three leagues from the continent.[5] They were in hopes of finding on this island at least a part of the refreshments of which they were in want, especially fresh meat and vegetables, but were disappointed, by finding the island entirely abandoned, all its inhabitants having removed to the main land. They saw, however, in the island a multitude of horses and birds, and found some dogs in two cabins near the shore. They also discovered the wreck of a Spanish ship, from which they supposed the dogs had got on shore. The horses were supposed to have been left here to graze, and that the owners came at certain times from the main to take them, as wanted. They here killed abundance of geese and ducks; and finding the coast extremely rocky, and having no safe place of anchorage, they resolved to put to sea. In a council of the officers, it was determined to continue for some time longer on the coast of Chili, in hopes of meeting with some port in which they could safely anchor, in order to get some refreshments; but perceiving the Spaniards to be every where on their guard, they steered W.N.W. for the island of Juan Fernandez, which they reckoned to be at the distance of ninety leagues in that direction. Although the coast of Chili appears to be enormously high when seen from a distance, they discovered, by sailing along shore, that it was not higher than the coast of England, and that they had been deceived by the enormous height of the inland mountains, the tops of which are hid in the clouds, and cloathed in perpetual snow.

Having a favourable wind, they made way at a great rate, and got sight of the island of Juan Fernandez, on the fourth day after leaving the coast of Chili, but could not get to anchor that day in the road, owing to its falling calm. Next day, when ready to go in, they were astonished by seeing a ship riding at anchor, which they conjectured to be either a Spanish ship of force or a French interloper, but at last concluded to be a pirate. While consulting what to do, they saw the boat belonging to the ship coming towards them, carrying a Spanish flag, on which they began to prepare for an

[5] Mocha is in lat. 38° 20′ S. and about 20 miles from the coast of Chili. —E.

an engagement, but were astonished beyond measure, on its nearer approach, to find that it belonged to their consort the Tienhoven, which they concluded had foundered. Captain Bowman was himself on board the boat, and shewed how well he had followed his instructions, as, by the commodore's orders in case of separation, this was to be the first place of rendezvous; whence, after cruizing six weeks, they were to repair to lat. 28° S. and cruize there a similar time: But, in case of not meeting the commodore in either of these places, they were then to open their sealed instructions, and follow them exactly. As soon as Captain Bowman was on board the commodore, he made a signal agreed on to his own ship, to acquaint them that the two ships were their consorts. After this, the Eagle and African entered the harbour.

When leisure permitted, Captain Bowman gave an account of the dangers he had encountered in passing the Straits of Magellan: That he had met with many storms on the coast of America, and that his ship was in a very bad condition, having only arrived at Juan Fernandez the evening before his consorts, both of which he believed had been lost in the hurricane at the time of their separation. The three captains afterwards dined together very cheerfully in the Tienhoven, where they recounted and reciprocally commiserated their past misfortunes, and rejoiced at their present happy meeting. As it still continued a dead calm, they were unable to come to anchor at the place intended, but they next day got close beside the Tienhoven, anchoring in forty fathoms, within musket-shot of the shore. The sick were now landed, and proper persons sent ashore along with them to construct cabins or huts for their accommodation, and to search for provisions and refreshments.

According to the author of this voyage, the island of Juan Fernandez is one of the finest and best situated in the world, having a pleasant, wholesome, and temperate climate, fit to restore health to the sick, and to give a constant flow of spirits to those who are in health, which this author personally experienced, having here recovered from a complication of disorders to perfect health. The hills are covered with tall trees of various kinds, fit for all kinds of uses; and the vallies are fertile, and able to produce all the necessaries of life with very little cultivation. It abounds with small streams and brooks, the banks of which are covered with wholesome plants; and the waters which run down from the mountains, though

though not in the least disagreeable to the taste, or injurious to health, are so impregnated with some mineral particles, that they never corrupt. On the east side of the bay in which the Dutch ships anchored, there are three mountains, the middlemost of which resembles the Table Mountains at the Cape of Good Hope. Behind these there are many other mountains which rise to a prodigious height, and are generally covered by very thick mist, especially in the mornings and evenings, whence I am apt to suspect that these mountains may contain rich mines. To give a just idea of the island in few words, it resembles in all respects the country at the Cape of Good Hope.

This author also mentions the sea-lions and seals of other writers, and adds, that there are sea-cows also of enormous size, some weighing near half a ton. He also mentions the abundance and excellence of the fish, of which the Dutch cured many thousands during their short stay, which proved extraordinarily good, and were of great service during the rest of the voyage. He mentions goats also on the island in abundance, but says the Dutch were unable to catch them, and at a loss how to get at their bodies when shot; but they were frightened from this sport by an unlucky accident which happened to the steward of one of the ships, soon after their arrival, who, rambling one evening in the mountains, fell suddenly from the top of a rock and was dashed to pieces. They found here the remains of a wreck, supposed by them to have been of a Spanish ship; but it was more probably the vestiges of the Speedwell, lost a year before, and from which, by diving, some of the sailors recovered several pieces of silver plate.

Having attentively considered the advantageous situation and many conveniences of this island, Roggewein conceived the design of settling on it, as the most proper place that could be thought of for ships bound, as he was, for the *Terra Australis*, or southern islands, and was the more encouraged in this design by considering the fertility of the island, which could not fail to afford sufficient subsistence for six hundred families at least. He postponed this, however, as also the settlement of *Belgia Australis*, or Falkland islands, till his proposed return, owing to which they never were settled. A settlement at the latter might have afforded a proper place for ships to careen and refit at, and to procure wood and water, after the long voyage from Europe, before entering the Straits

Straits of Magellan, and Juan Fernandez would have afforded every convenience for repairing any injuries that might have been sustained in passing through these straits, or going round Cape Horn. Whatever nation may revive and prosecute this plan, will certainly acquire in a few years as rich and profitable a commerce as is now possessed by the Spaniards with Mexico and Peru, or the Portuguese with Brazil.[6]

Section IV.

Continuation of the Voyage from Juan Fernandez till the Shipwreck of the African Galley.

On leaving Juan Fernandez, Roggewein proposed to visit that part of the southern lands which was reported to have been discovered by Davis in 1680.[1] As the Dutch author of this voyage is rather dark on this subject, I shall here insert Mr Wafer's account of this discovery, as it is very short. Wafer was a man of sense and knowledge, who sailed along with Davis when this discovery was made.

"We steered from the Gallapagos island S. by E. ½ E. until we came into the lat. of 27° 20′ S. when we fell in with a low sandy island, and heard a great roaring noise right a-head of the ship, like that of the sea beating on the shore. It being some hours before day, and fearing to fall foul of the shore, the ship put about, and plied off and on till next morning, and then stood in for the land, which proved to be a small flat island, not surrounded by any rocks. To the westwards, about twelve leagues by estimation, we saw a range of high land which we took to be islands, as there were several partitions in the prospect, and this land seemed to extend fourteen or sixteen leagues. There came great flocks of fowls from that direction; and I and more of the men would have made this land and gone on shore there, but

[6] Britain once tried a settlement at Falkland islands, and had nearly gone to war with Spain on the occasion; and there can be no doubt that Spain could never have submitted to the settlement of Juan Fernandez by any other power. There is now a fort and small garrison kept in that island.—E.

[1] We have omitted a long, inconclusive, and uninteresting discussion about the climate and productions of the proposed discovery, the *Terra Australis*, which still remains *incognita*, or rather has been clearly shewn to have no existence.—E.

but the captain would not consent. The small island bears 500 leagues from Copaipo almost due W. and from the Gallapagos 600 leagues."[2]

In prosecuting his voyage to the westwards, the first land seen by Roggewein was the lesser island of Juan Fernandez, otherwise called Massa-fuero, about ninety-five English miles direct west. This appeared lower and less fertile from a distance, but they had not an opportunity of landing. Having the benefit of a S. E. trade-wind, they soon arrived in lat. 28° S. and the longitude of 251° E. where they expected to have fallen in with the land seen by Davis, but no such land was to be found. Continuing their voyage to the westwards, and attended by a vast quantity of birds, they arrived on the coast of a small island about sixteen leagues in extent, which they fell in with on the 14th April, 1722, being Easter-day, and called it therefore *Pascha*, or *Easter* Island.

The African galley being the smallest ship, was sent in first to examine this new discovery, and reported that it seemed to be very fertile and well peopled, as abundance of smoke was to be seen in all parts of the island. Next day, while looking out for a port, and when about two miles from the shore, an Indian came off to the ships in a canoe, who came readily on board and was well received. Being naked, he was first presented with a piece of cloth to cover him, and they gave him afterwards pieces of coral, beads, and other toys, all of which he hung about his neck, together with a dried fish. His body was painted all over with a variety of figures, through which the natural colour of his skin appeared to be dark brown. His ears were excessively large and long, hanging down to his shoulders, occasioned doubtless by wearing large heavy ear-rings; a thing also practised by the natives of Malabar. He was tall, well-made, robust and of a pleasing countenance, and brisk and active in his manners, appearing to be very merry by his gestures and way of speaking. They gave him victuals, of which he eat heartily, but could not be prevailed on to use a knife and fork;

[2] There can be no doubt that the small low flat island was Easter island, in lat. 27° 20′ S. long. 110° 10′ W. Its distance from Copaipo, almost due W. is almost exactly 40° or 800 marine leagues. The range of high land seen to the westwards, could be nothing but a fog bank, so that Roggewein set out from Juan Fernandez in search of a nonentity.—E.

fork; and when offered a glass of wine threw it away to their great surprise, afraid of being poisoned, or offended by the smell of strong liquor, to which he was unaccustomed. He was then dressed from head to foot, and had a hat put on his head, with which he did not seem at all pleased, but cut a very awkward figure, and seemed uneasy. The music was then ordered to play, with which he seemed much pleased, and when taken by the hand would leap and dance. Finding it impossible to bring the ships to anchor that day, they sent off the Indian, allowing him to keep all he had got in order to encourage the rest to come on board. But, what was really surprising, he had no mind to go away, and looked at the Dutch with regret, held up his hands towards his native island, and cried in a loud voice several times *Odorega!* making appear by signs that he would much rather have staid, and they had much ado to get him into his canoe. They afterwards imagined he called upon his gods, as they saw abundance of idols erected on the coast when they landed.[3]

Next morning at day-break, the ships entered a cove or bay on the S. E. side of the island, when *many thousands*[4] of the inhabitants came down to meet them, bringing with them vast quantities of fowls and roots; and many of them brought these provisions on board, while the rest ran backwards and forwards on the shore, like so many wild beasts. As the ships drew near, the islanders crowded down to the shore to get a better view of them, and at the same time lighted fires, and made offerings to their idols, probably to implore their protection against the strangers. All that day the Dutch spent in getting into the bay and mooring their ships. Next morning very early, the islanders were observed prostrating themselves before their idols towards the rising sun, and making burnt offerings. While preparations were making for landing, the friendly native who had been before on board came a second time, accompanied by many others, who had their canoes loaded with living fowls and roots cooked after their manner, as if to make themselves welcome.

[3] It will be afterwards seen in the modern circumnavigations, that there are several gigantic statues, having a distant resemblance to the human figure, on this island, which are perhaps alluded to in the text.—E.

[4] This surely is a prodigious exaggeration, as the island is utterly incapable to have supported any considerable number of inhabitants, and there is not any other within 1500 miles.—E.

come. Among this troop of islanders there was one man perfectly white, having round pendents in his ears as big as a man's fist. He had a grave decent air, and was supposed to be a priest. By some accident, one of the islanders was shot dead in his canoe by a musket, which threw the whole into prodigious confusion, most of them leaping into the sea in order to get the sooner ashore; while the rest who remained in their canoes paddled away with all their might.

The Dutch presently followed, and made a descent with 150 soldiers and seamen, at the head of whom was Commodore Roggewein, accompanied by the author of the voyage, who commanded the soldiers. The islanders crowded so close upon them while landing, that they thought it necessary to make their way by force, especially as some of the natives were so bold as to lay hold of their arms; and the Dutch accordingly fired, when a great number of the islanders were slain, among whom was the friendly native who had been twice aboard ship. This frightened and dispersed them; yet in a few minutes they rallied again, but did not come quite so near the strangers as before, keeping at the distance of about ten yards, as if they supposed that were sufficient to ensure their safety from the muskets. Their consternation was however very great, and they howled and lamented dismally. After all, as if to employ every possible means to mollify their invaders, the men, women, and children presented themselves in the most humble postures, carrying branches of palm in token of peace and submission, bringing plenty of provisions of all kinds, and even pointing to their women, giving the Dutch to understand by signs that these were entirely at their disposal, and that they might carry as many of them on board ship as they thought proper. Softened by these tokens of submission, the Dutch did them no farther harm, but made them presents of coral beads and small looking-glasses, and distributed among them sixty yards of painted cloth.

The natives now brought at once to the Dutch about 500 live fowls, every way the same with the ordinary poultry of Europe, together with a great quantity of red and white roots and potatoes, which these islanders use instead of bread. They brought also several hundred sugar-canes, and a great quantity of *pisans*, which are a sort of figs as large as gourds covered by a green rind, the pulp of which is as sweet as honey. The leaves of the tree on which these figs

figs grow are six or eight feet long and three broad, and there are sometimes an hundred of these *pisans* on one bough. The Dutch saw no quadrupeds of any kind, yet supposed there might be cattle and other beasts in the interior, as on shewing some hogs to the islanders, they expressed by signs that they had seen such animals before. They used pots to dress their meat in; and it appeared that every family or tribe among them dwelt in a separate village. The huts or cabins composing these villages were from forty to sixty feet long, by six or eight feet broad, made of upright poles, having the interstices filled up with loam or fat earth, and covered at top with palm leaves. They drew most of their subsistence from the earth by cultivation, the land being portioned out into small plantations very neatly divided and staked out. While the Dutch were there, almost all the fruits and roots were in full maturity, and the island seemed to abound in good things. In their houses there were not many moveables, and those they had were of no value, except some red and white quilts or cloths, which served them in the day for mantles, and at night for coverlets. The stuff of which these were composed felt as soft as silk, and was probably of their own manufacture.

The natives of this island were in general a brisk, slender, active, well-made people, very swift of foot, and seemed of sweet tempers, and modest dispositions, but timorous and faint-hearted; for whenever they brought fowls or other provisions to the Dutch, they threw themselves on their knees, and immediately on delivering their presents retired in all haste. They were mostly as brown-complexioned as Spaniards, some among them being almost black, while others were white, and others again had their skins entirely red, as if sun-burnt. Their ears hung down to their shoulders, and some had large white bales hanging to them, which they seemed to consider as a great ornament. Their bodies were painted all over with the figures of birds and other animals, on some much better executed than on others.[5] All their women had artificial bloom on their cheeks, but of a much

[5] *Tatooed* in all probability, a practice so common through the inhabitants of Polynesia, which will be minutely described in an after division of this collection. It may suffice to say at present, that this decoration is formed by pricking the skin with sharp instruments till it just bleeds, and afterwards rubbing some coloured powders into the punctures, which leave indelible stains.—E.

a much deeper crimson than is known in Europe, and the Dutch could not discover what this colour was composed of. They wore little hats on their heads made of straw or reeds, and had no other covering than the quilts or mantles formerly mentioned.[6] The women were by no means extremely modest, for they invited the Dutchmen into their houses by signs, and when they sat by them would throw off their mantles, as inviting familiarity. It is very singular of these islanders, that the Dutch saw no appearance whatever of arms among them; but, when attacked, they fled for refuge to their idols, numbers of which were erected all along the coast. These idols were all of stone, representing the figures of men with great ears, their heads covered by the representations of crowns; and all so nicely proportioned, and so highly finished, that the Dutch were much amazed. Many of the inhabitants seemed to be more frequent and more zealous worshippers of these images than the rest, which induced the Dutch to believe that these were priests; and that the more especially, as their heads were close shaven, on which they wore caps of black and white feathers,[7] and they had large white balls hanging at their ears.

No appearance of government or subordination was observed among these islanders, and consequently no prince or chief having dominion over the rest. The old people wore bonnets made of feathers resembling the down of ostriches, and had sticks in their hands. In some of the houses, the father of the family was observed to have rule over all its inhabitants, and was obeyed with the greatest readiness. In the opinion of the Dutch author of this voyage, this island might be settled to great advantage, as the air is very wholesome and the soil rich; being proper for producing corn in the low lands, and its higher grounds might be converted into vineyards. On the evening, after returning on board, Roggewein proposed to land again next morning with a force sufficient to make a strict survey of the whole island: But during the night there arose so strong a west wind as drove them from their anchors, and they were forced to put to

[6] It is left ambiguous whether these straw hats and mantles were worn by both sexes, or confined exclusively to the women.—E.

[7] A dissertation is here omitted on a fancied migration of storks annually from Europe to this island and others in the South-sea, as high as lat. 40° and 50° S. merely because the Dutch thought the feathers in these caps resembled those of storks.—E.

to sea, to avoid being shipwrecked. After this misfortune, they cruized for some time in the same latitude, seeking in vain for the land discovered by Davis, on which Roggewein determined to bear away for the *Bad Sea of Schouten*, keeping always a west course, in hopes of discovering some new land. In this course, they soon found themselves in the height of the island discovered by Schonten in 1615, to which he gave the name of *Bad-water*, because all its waters were brackish; but, by changing their course, they ran 300 leagues out of their way, and at least 150 leagues farther than Schonten.

In this wide sea, Roggewein sailed upwards of 800 leagues without seeing land, though he frequently varied his course. At length, when in lat. 15° 30′ S. they discovered a very low island, the coast of which was covered with a deep yellow-coloured sand, having in the middle of the island a kind of pond, lake, or lagoon. All the principal officers were of opinion that this was the island to which Schonten gave the name of *Dog* island, and did not therefore think it necessary to go on shore for more particular examination.[8] The author of this voyage was of a different opinion, conceiving it a new discovery, and calling it *Carlshoff*,[9] which he says is in lat. 15° 45′ S. and long. 280°. He describes it as a low flat island of about three leagues in extent, having a lake in the middle.

Leaving this island, the wind came about to the S. W. a sign that they were near some coast, which had changed the current of the air; and by this alteration of wind they were driven among some small islands, where they found themselves considerably embarrassed. In this situation the African galley led the way for the rest, as sailing best and drawing least water; but she soon found herself in such danger, that they fired repeated guns of distress, on which the other two ships hastened to her assistance, when they found her stuck so fast between two rocks that it was impossible to get her off, and were only able to save her people. Roused by the noise of the signal guns, the natives of the surrounding islands

[8] In modern geography Dog island is placed in lat. 15° 10′ S. long. 137° 45′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

[9] Carlshoff is laid down by Arrowsmith in lat. 15° 45′ S. as in the text, and long. 145° 28′ W. The first meridian used for the longitude in the text is quite inexplicable, and was probably assumed on very erroneous computation. It is 190 marine leagues due west from Dog island.—E.

islands kindled many fires on their hills, and flocked in crowds to the coasts; and the Dutch, not knowing what might be their designs in the darkness of the night and in the midst of their own confusion, fired upon them without ceremony, that they might have as few dangers as possible to deal with at one time. In the morning as soon as it was light, they had a clear view of the danger all the ships had been in during the darkness of the past night, finding themselves environed on all sides by four islands, with a continued chain of steep rocks, and so close together that they could hardly discern the channel by which they had got in, so that they had much reason to be thankful for having been so wonderfully preserved in the midst of so much danger. On this occasion only one seaman was lost, who belonged to the Tienhoven, and who, in his eagerness to go to succour his friends, dropt overboard and was drowned.

The danger was by no means over as soon as discovered, as it cost the Dutch no less than five days to extricate themselves from their perilous situation, during which time the commodore was separated from the Tienhoven, and remained ignorant of the fate of the African. At length, the boat of the Tienhoven, having sailed all round the group of islands, brought information that the crew of the African had got safe on shore; and that the natives, after being once fired on, had retired into the interior in all haste. Roggewein now sent his boat to bring off all those who had got on shore; and on mustering the crew of the African on board the Eagle, it appeared that a quarter-master and four seamen were missing. On enquiry, it was found that these men had chosen to remain on the island, as they had mutinied against their officers on getting ashore, because they had interposed to prevent them from killing each other with their knives, and Captain Rosenthall had threatened to have them all put to death when he got them aboard the commodore, wherefore they had fled to avoid punishment. Being unwilling to lose them, the commodore sent the author of this narrative with a detachment of soldiers to bring them away, but he was unable to succeed.

These islands are situated between the latitudes of 15° and 16° S. about twelve leagues west from Carlshoff, [10] each of them

[10] Pernicious islands, almost certainly the Mischievous islands of the text, are placed in lat. 16° 5′ S. and long. 146° 30′ W. about 20 leagues W. by S. from Carlshoff, by Arrowsmith.—E.

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them appearing to be four or five leagues in compass. That on which the African was shipwrecked was named *Mischievous Island*, the two next it the *Brothers*, and the fourth the *Sister*. All four islands were beautifully verdant, and abounded in fine tall trees, especially cocoas; and the crews found material benefit while here by refreshing themselves on the vegetable productions of these islands, by which many of them were surprisingly recovered from the scurvy. The Dutch found here vast quantities of muscles, cockles, mother-of-pearls, and pearl-oysters, which gave reason to expect that a valuable pearl fishery might have been established here. These islands are extremely low, so that some parts of them must be frequently overflowed; but the inhabitants have plenty of stout canoes, as also stout barks provided with sails and cables; and the Dutch found several pieces of rope on the shore, that seemed made of hemp. The natives were of extraordinary size, all their bodies being painted [or *tatooed*] with many colours, and had mostly long black hair, though some had brown hair even inclined towards red. They were armed with pikes or lances eighteen or twenty feet long, and kept in bodies of fifty or an hundred together, endeavouring to entice the Dutch to follow them into the interior, as if to draw them into an ambuscade, on purpose to be revenged for the loss they had sustained by the firing on the night of the shipwreck.

Section V.

Continuation of the Voyage after the Loss of the African, to the Arrival of Roggewein at New Britain.

The next morning after leaving Mischievous island, they saw a new island eight leagues to the west, to which they gave the name of *Aurora* island, because observed first at break of day. At this time the Tienhoven was so near, that if the sun had risen half an hour later, she must have shared the same fate with the African, as she was within cannon-shot of the shore when the danger was perceived, and she then tacked and escaped with considerable difficulty. The fright which this occasioned produced a mutiny, in which all the seamen insisted with the commodore either to return immediately, or to give them security for payment of their

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their wages, in case they should be so unfortunate as to suffer shipwreck. This request seemed just and reasonable, being daily exposed to excessive fatigue in these stormy and unknown seas, and at the same time ran the hazard of losing all the reward of their labours, as it is the custom in Holland that the seamen lose their wages if the ship is lost in which they sail. The commodore listened to their complaints with much humanity, and immediately gave them assurance upon oath, that they should have their wages to the uttermost farthing, and kept his promise with the utmost exactness; for, though the African was lost before, and both the other ships were condemned at Batavia, yet every one of their respective crews received their full wages on their arrival at Amsterdam.

The island of *Aurora* was about four leagues in extent, the whole being covered with delightful verdure, and adorned with lofty trees interspersed with smaller wood: But, as the coast was found to be all foul and rocky, they left this island also without landing. Towards evening of the same day, they had sight of another island, to which therefore they gave the name of *Vesper*.[1] This was about twelve leagues in circuit, all low land, yet verdant and containing abundance of trees of various sorts. Continuing their course to the west in about the latitude of 15° S. they next morning discovered another country; and, as it was covered with smoke, they concluded it was inhabited, and made there all sail to come to it, in hopes of procuring refreshments. On approaching nearer, some of the inhabitants were seen diverting themselves off the coast in their canoes. They also perceived by degrees, that what they had at first supposed to be one country or large island, was in reality abundance of islands standing close together, among which they had now entered so far, that they found it difficult to get out again. In this situation, a man was sent to the mast-head to look out for a passage, and as the weather was quite serene, they had the good fortune to get out once more into the open sea without injury; although in passing by several steep ranges of rocks, they had reason to consider this as a great deliverance. There were six of these islands, exceedingly

[1] Aurora and Vesper are called in modern geography Roggewein's or Palliser's Islands, in lat. 15° 32′ S. about 10 leagues N. by W. of Pernicious Islands.—E.

ingly beautiful and pleasant in appearance, which altogether could not be less than thirty leagues in circumference. They were about twenty-five leagues west from Mischievous island, and the Dutch called them the *Labyrinth,*[2] having difficultly got clear of them by numerous tacks.

As it was very dangerous to anchor on the coast, and as none of the inhabitants came off in their canoes, the Dutch did not think fit to make any stay, but continued still a western course, and in a few days discovered another island, which at a distance appeared very high and beautiful; but, on a nearer approach they found no ground for anchorage, and the coast appeared so rocky that they were afraid to venture near. Each ship therefore embarked twenty-five men in their boats, in order to make a descent. The natives no sooner perceived their design than they came down in crowds to the coast to oppose their landing, being armed with long spears, which they soon shewed they knew how to use to the best advantage. When the boats drew near, the shore was found to be so steep and rocky, that the boats could not come to land, on which most of the sailors went into the water with their arms in their hands, having some baubles fit for presents to the natives tied upon their heads; while those who remained in the boats kept up a continual fire to clear the shore. This expedient succeeded, and the seamen got ashore without much resistance from the natives, who were frightened by the fire of the musquetry, and retired up the mountains, but came down again as soon as the Dutch ceased firing.

On the return of the islanders, the Dutch who had landed shewed them small mirrors, beads, and other baubles, and the people came up to them without fear, took their presents, and suffered them to search where they pleased for herbs and sallading for the sick. They found abundance of these, and soon filled twelve sacks, six for the Eagle and six for the Tienhoven, the inhabitants even assisting them and shewing them the best sorts. They carried their cargo of greens immediately on board, which were more acceptable to the sick than if they had brought them as much gold and silver. Next morning a larger body of men were ordered on shore, both

[2] Perhaps Prince of Wales' islands are here alluded to, in lat. 15° 30′ S. and long. 148° 5′ W. about 40 marine leagues W.N.W. from Pernicious islands.—E.

both on purpose to gather herbs and to examine the island. The first thing they did was to make a present to the king or chief of a considerable assortment of trinkets, which he received with an air of indifference and disdain, which did not promise much good in their future intercourse, yet sent the Dutch a considerable quantity of cocoa nuts in return, which were very agreeable to them in their present circumstances. The chief was distinguished from the ordinary inhabitants by wearing various ornaments of pearls, as they judged to the value of 600 florins, or L. 55 sterling. The women of the island seemed to admire the white men much, and almost stifled them with caresses: But this was all employed to lull the Dutch into security, that the plot contrived by the men for their destruction might the more readily succeed.

When the Dutch had filled twenty sacks with greens, they advanced farther into the country, till they came to the top of some steep rocks, which hung over a large and deep valley, the natives going both before and behind them, quite unsuspected of any evil intention. At length, thinking they had the Dutch at an advantage, the natives suddenly quitted them, and soon after prodigious numbers came pouring out from caves and holes in the rocks, and surrounded the Dutch on all sides, while they immediately formed in close order for defence. The chief or king then made a signal for the Dutch to keep off, but as they continued to advance, the chief made a signal of battle, which was instantly followed by a prodigious shower of stones. The Dutch in return made a general discharge of their fire arms, which did great execution, and the chief was among the first who fell. Yet the islanders continued to throw stones with great fury, so that most of the Dutch were soon wounded and almost disabled, on which they retired under shelter of a rock, whence they fired with such success that great numbers of the islanders were slain. They still obstinately maintained their ground, and the Dutch were at last forced to retreat, having some of their number killed, and a great many wounded, most of whom died not long after, in consequence of their scorbutical habit of body, in spite of every care. As soon as they could disengage themselves from the enemy, the Dutch retired on board ship, carrying with them the sacks of greens which they had gathered. This rencounter had so great an effect on the Dutch,

Dutch, that when it was proposed to land again, not a man could be prevailed upon to make the dangerous attempt.

They had given to this island, before this unfortunate affair, the name of the *Island of Recreation*, [3] which is in lat. 16° S. and long. 285°. It is about twelve leagues in compass, with a fertile soil, producing a great number of trees, especially cocoa nuts, palms, and iron-wood. The Dutch conceived that there might be rich mines in the heart of the country, and other valuable things, but were not allowed to search. The natives were of middle size, but robust and active, having long black shining hair, which they anoint with cocoa-nut oil, a practice very common among the Indians. They were painted all over, like the inhabitants of Easter island; the men wearing a kind of net-work round their middles, which they stick up between their legs. The women were entirely covered by a kind of mantles of their own manufacture, the stuff of which to the sight and touch resembled silk; [4] and they wear long strings of pearls about their necks and wrists.

Roggewein thought proper to sail from this island without farther loss of time, and before his departure held a council of his officers, in which he stated his instructions, which were,—If no discovery of importance could be made in the latitude and longitude in which they then were, that he should return home. Some of the council were much astonished at this, and remonstrated, That having already gone so far, and met with such encouragement to hope for discoveries of great importance, they thought it would betray a great want of spirit not to proceed. To this Roggewein answered, That they had now been out ten months, having still a long voyage to make to the East Indies; that provisions began to grow scarce, and, above all, that the crews were already so much diminished in number, and the survivors in so weak a condition, that if twenty more were to die or fall sick, there would not be a sufficient number remaining to navigate both ships. The true reason, however, in the opinion of the author of this voyage, was the anxiety to

[3] By Arrowsmith, this island is placed in lat. 16° 32′ S. and long. 148° 50′ W. The longitude in the text is inexplicable on any supposition.—E.

[4] The cloth of the South-sea islands is a substance in a great measure resembling paper, composed of the inner bark of the paper mulberry, the preparation of which will be afterwards detailed in the narratives of the modern circumnavigators.—E.

to get to the East Indies before the change of the monsoon, in which case they must have remained six months longer in these seas. Some of the officers opposed this motion to the last, earnestly entreating the commodore that he would rather winter at the land mentioned by Ferdinand de Quiros, from which they could not now be more than 150 leagues distant. They insisted that it was wrong to think of going to the East Indies, that being directly contrary to the design of their instructions: And that by continuing in the same western course, they could not fail to fall in with some island, where they might land and procure refreshments, remaining on shore till all their sick men were recovered, and erecting a fort to defend themselves against the natives. If this were complied with, they said they might afterwards return home by an eastern course; and, by taking time, might effectually complete the discoveries on which they were sent.

These reasons were listened to with patience and civility, but had not the weight they deserved; and a resolution was formed to continue their course for New Britain and New Guinea, and thence to the East Indies, by way of the Moluccas, being in hopes to procure there a supply of provisions and necessaries, together with a reinforcement of seamen, in case they should then be too weak for navigating their ships home to Europe. In consequence of this resolution, an end was put to all hope of visiting the land of Quiros, which the best seamen on board thought might have been easily discovered, called by him and Torres the *Islands of Solomon*, and reported to be beautiful and fertile, and abounding in gold, silver, precious stones, and spices.[5]

Leaving the island of *Recreation*, Roggewein steered a course towards the N.W. pursuant to the resolution of the council, in order to get into the latitude of New Britain. On the third day, in lat. 12° S. and long. 29° they discovered several islands which appeared very beautiful at a distance, and, on a nearer approach, were seen to be well planted with all sorts of trees, and produced herbs, corn, and roots in great plenty, to which they gave the name of *Bowman's islands*, after the captain of the Tienhoven, by whom they were first seen.[6] As soon as they were seen by the natives, they

[5] We have here omitted a long, uninteresting, and inconclusive disquisition on the supposed Terra Australis, as altogether founded on supposition and error.—E.

[6] These appear to have been the most northerly of the Society islands,

they came off in their canoes to the ships, bringing fish, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreshments, in return for which the Dutch gave them small mirrors, strings of beads, and other trifles. These islands were very fully peopled, as many thousands of men and women came down to the shore to view the ships, most of the men being armed with bows and arrows. Among the rest, they saw a majestic personage, who, from the peculiar dress he wore, and the honours that were paid him, evidently appeared to be chief or king of these islanders. This person soon afterwards went into a canoe, accompanied by a fair young woman, who sat close by his side, and his canoe was immediately surrounded by a vast number of others, which seemed intended for his guard.

All the inhabitants of these islands were white, differing only from Europeans in being sun-burnt, and they seemed a very harmless good sort of people, of brisk and lively dispositions, behaving to each other with much civility, and shewing no appearance of wildness or savageness in their behaviour. Their bodies were not painted like those of the islanders they had seen hitherto, but very handsomely cloathed from the waist downwards, with a sort of silk fringes very neatly arranged. On their heads they wore hats of a very neat-looking stuff, very large and wide spreading, in order to keep off the sun, and their necks were adorned with collars or garlands of beautiful odoriferous flowers. The islands appeared quite charming, being agreeably diversified with beautiful hills and intermediate vallies. Each family or tribe appeared to have its separate district, and to compose a separate government or community, all the land being regularly laid out into regular and fair plantations, as had formerly been observed at *Pasch*, or *Easter* island. In all respects, the natives were the most civilized and best disposed people they had seen in the South Seas. Instead of shewing any terror or apprehension at the arrival of the Dutch, the natives expressed the utmost joy and satisfaction, treating them with the utmost kindness and respect, and manifested the most sincere and deep concern at their departure. Many of the Dutch also felt a similar regret, and would have been well pleased to have made a longer stay in this delightful and plenteous country, among so kind a people,

about 70 marine leagues, or 3½ degrees W. by N. from Recreation island, in lat. 15° 20′ S. long. 152° W.

people, as, by the help of the excellent provisions in great abundance with which these good islands furnished them, all their sick people would have been perfectly recovered in a month. These islands had also one convenience greatly superior to those they had met with before, as there was good anchorage almost every where along their coasts, where they rode in the utmost safety, in from fifteen to twenty fathoms.

So many advantageous circumstances ought to have induced Roggewein and his officers to have remained here longer; but their heads were so full of proceeding for the East Indies, that they were fearful of missing the favourable monsoon, while they afterwards discovered, to their cost, that they were two months too early, instead of two months too late. By this indiscreet step, they sacrificed the health and strength of their crew to such a degree, that they were at length hardly able to navigate their ships, and at one time were on the point of burning one of their ships, that they might be better able to manage the other: All of which inconveniences might have been avoided, had they embraced this opportunity afforded them by Divine Providence, and been contented to remain in a place of safety, plenty, and pleasure, till their sick were recovered, instead of wilfully seeking new dangers which they were so little able to encounter.

Leaving Bowman's islands, and continuing their course towards the N.W. they came next morning in sight of two islands, which they took to be *Coccos* and *Traitor's* islands,[7] so called by Schouten, who discovered them. The island of Coccos, at a distance, for Roggewein would not stop to examine it, seemed very high land, and about eight leagues in circuit. The other seemed much lower, composed of a red soil, and destitute of trees. They soon after saw two other islands of large extent, one of which they named *Tienhoven*,[8] and the other *Groninguen*; which last many of their officers were

[7] There must be here an enormous error in the text; Coccos and Traitor's islands are almost directly west from Recreation island, and the northermost of the Society islands, supposed to be the Bowman's islands of the text, and not less than 23° 10′ farther west than these last, or 463 marine leagues, which could not well be run in less than a week or ten days.—E.

[8] These were probably the *Fee-jee*, or Bligh's islands, in lat. 17° 20′ S. long. 181° 30′ W. but the narrative is too incomplete to ascertain this and many other points with any tolerable certainty.—E.

were of opinion was no island, but the *great southern continent* they were sent out to discover. The island of *Tienhoven* appeared a rich and beautiful country, moderately high, its meadows or low lands, by the sea, exceedingly green, and the interior well provided with trees. They coasted along this island for a whole day without reaching its extremity, yet noticed that it extended semi-circularly towards the island of Groninguen, so that those which they took for islands might be contiguous lands, and both of them parts of the *Terra Australis incognita.*

A great part of the company were for anchoring on this coast, and making a descent, but the officers were so intent on proceeding for India, that they alleged it might be very dangerous to attempt landing, lest any of the men might be cut off, and they should not have enough left to carry on the ships. They continued in their course, therefore, not doubting that they should soon see the coasts of New Britain or New Guinea: But, after sailing many days without seeing any land at all, they began to see the vanity of these calculations, and could not forbear murmuring at their effects, as the scurvy began to cut off three, four, or five of their best hands daily. At this time nothing was to be seen but sick people, struggling with inexpressible pains, or dead carcasses just relieved from their intolerable distress. From these there arose so abominable a stench, that even those who were yet sound often fainted away, unable to endure it. Cries and groans were incessantly heard in all parts of the ships, and the sight of the poor diseased wretches who were still able to crawl about, excited horror and compassion. Some were reduced to such mere skeletons that their skins seemed to cleave to their bones, and these had this consolation, that they gradually consumed away without pain. Others were swelled out to monstrous sizes, and were so tormented with excruciating pain as to drive them to furious madness. Some were worn away by the dysentery, and others were racked with excruciating rheumatism, while others again dragged their dead limbs after them, having lost feeling through the palsy. To these numerous and complicated diseases of the body, many had superadded distemperature of the mind. An anabaptist of twenty-five years old called out continually to be baptized, and when told with a sneer that there was no parson on board, he became quiet, and died with great resignation. Two papists on

on board gave what little money they had to their friends, beseeching them, if they ever got back to Holland, to lay it out in masses to St Anthony of Padua for the repose of their souls. Others again would listen to nothing that had the smallest savour of religion, for some time before they died. Some refused meat and drink for twenty-four hours before death, while others were suddenly carried off in the midst of conversation.

All these various appearances of disease are attributed by the author of this voyage principally to the bad quality of their provisions; their salt meat being corrupted, their bread full of maggots, and their water intolerably putrid. Under these circumstances medicines were of no avail, being utterly unable to work a cure, and could at best only defer death for a little, and protract the sufferings of the sick. Though as well as any one in either ship, the author of this journal had the scurvy to such a degree that his teeth were all loose, his gums inflamed and ulcerated, and his body all over covered with livid spots. Even such as were reputed in best health, were low, weak, and much afflicted with the scurvy. Nothing could effectually relieve or even alleviate their sufferings, except fresh meat, vegetables, and sweet water. At length it pleased God to put a period to their miseries, by giving them sight of the coast of New Britain, the joy of which filled the sick with new spirits, and encouraged those who were still able to move, with the enlivening hope of once more revisiting their native land. Our author was fully of opinion, that if they had been many days longer at sea, they must all have perished by the continuance and necessary increase of the miseries which they endured, which no description can possibly express in any thing like adequate terms.

SECTION VI.

Description of New Britain, and farther Continuation of the Voyage till the Arrival of Roggewein at Java.

THE country of New Britain, and all the islands in its neighbourhood, is composed of very high land, many of the mountains hiding their heads in the clouds. The sea coasts are however both pleasant and fertile, the low lands being cloathed

cloathed in perpetual verdure, and the hills covered with a variety of trees, mostly bearing fruit. It is in lat. between 4° and 7° S.[1] and both in regard to situation and appearance, no country can promise better than this. After some consultation, it was resolved to go on shore here at all events, though now so much reduced by the long-continued sickness, that they could hardly muster a sufficient number of men from both ships to man a boat, and leave men enough, in case they were cut off, to navigate one ship home, supposing them even to sacrifice one of the ships. Yet such was the ardent desire of all to get on shore, and so urgent was the necessity for that measure, that it appeared indispensable to venture on landing, let the consequences be what they might. Accordingly, our author was ordered into the boat, with as many men as could be spared, with orders to get on shore at any rate, by fair means if possible, and with the consent of the inhabitants, for whom he carried a great number of baubles to distribute among them as presents. If, however, these had no effect, he was then to use force, as the circumstances to which they were reduced made it as eligible to die by the hands of barbarians as to perish gradually by disease and famine.

The nearer they drew towards the coast, the more they were delighted with its appearance, as giving them a nearer prospect of the wished-for refreshments. The inhabitants came down in multitudes to the coast, but in such guise as did not by any means increase their satisfaction, as they were all armed with bows and arrows and slings, and demonstrated sufficiently by their gestures that the Dutch were by no means welcome visitors, and that they were not to expect being permitted to land peaceably. As the boat approached the shore, the natives seemed to become frantic with despair, made frightful faces, tore their hair, and howled in a horrible manner; and at length, as borrowing courage from the increase of danger, they hurried into their canoes and put off from

[1] No account is given of this voyage from Bowman's islands, perhaps the Fee-jees, as already mentioned, to New Britain, neither indeed is it any way expressed on what part of New Britain they had now arrived. They probably steered a course N.W. or N.W. by W. from the Fee-jees, and fell in with the N.E. part of New Britain, now known to be a separate island, and called New Ireland; and by the lower latitude mentioned in the text, they appear to come first to the eastern part of New Ireland; but it is impossible to say whether they went to the N. or S. of Solomon's island.—E.

from the shore, as if to meet that danger the sooner which was evidently unavoidable. As the Dutch continued their way towards the land, the natives discharged a flight of arrows at the boat, which they followed by throwing their spears or javelins, after which they threw in a shower of stones discharged from slings. Convinced now that there was nothing to be trusted to but force, the Dutch opened their fire, and kept it up with such effect, that many of the natives were slain, and the rest so terrified, that great numbers of them leapt into the water to swim ashore, and at last all the survivors followed the example, by turning their canoes towards the land. But such was their confusion and dismay, that they were now unable to distinguish the proper channels by which to get back to the coast, but ran them on the rocks and shoals. This circumstance almost deprived the Dutch of all hopes of being able to attain the coast.

While thus embarrassed, there arose a violent storm, of that kind which the Dutch call *traffat*, and which in the east is named a *tuffoon*, which usually arises suddenly in the midst of a calm, and when the air is perfectly clear and serene, and which, by its extreme violence, often brings the masts by the board, and whirls the sails into the air, if they are not furled in an instant. By this sudden tempest, the two ships were forced out to sea, and the poor people in the boat were left without relief, and almost devoid of hope. The boat was forced on a sand-bank, where she was for some time so beaten by the winds and waves, that there seemed no chance of escaping almost instant destruction. But despair often lends strength and spirits to men beyond their usual powers; and, by dint of great exertions, they dragged their boat clear of the bank, and got to land, where all got safe on shore without hurt, but almost exhausted by fatigue. The first thing they did was to look out for some place of retreat, where they might be safe from any sudden assault of the natives; but night came on before any such could be found, so that they were forced to rest contented with making a fire on the shore, in order to dry and warm themselves, which in some measure revived their spirits. The light of the fire enabled them to discover several huts or cabins of the natives in the neighbourhood of where they were, on which they felt inclined to examine them, but found neither inhabitants nor household goods of any kind, all that they met with worth taking away being a few nets of curious

ous workmanship. They also saw abundance of cocoa-nut trees, but, having no hatchets, were unable to come at any of the fruit, and had to pass a most comfortless night, during which they were perpetually disturbed and alarmed by the frightful noise of the natives in the adjoining wood, whence they naturally concluded they were every moment about to attack them. About midnight they heard a signal from the ships, which had been able to come back to that part of the coast, on which they immediately hastened on board, and immediately continued their voyage along the coast of New Britain, making their way with considerable difficulty through among numerous islands. They named that part of the coast on which they landed, *Stormland*, which was probably the same called *Slinger's bay* by Dampier, on account of the dexterity of the natives in the management of that instrument.

This country of New Britain seems to be extremely fertile, and to abound in fruits of many sorts. The inhabitants are a tall well-made people, perfect mulattoes in their complexions, with long black hair hanging down to their waists, being extremely nimble and vigorous, and so dexterous in the management of their weapons, that in all probability they live in a state of continual warfare with their neighbours. The sea along the coast is studded with numerous islands, so that they had great difficulty in getting a passage through them.

Notwithstanding the dangers they had already experienced, they resolved to make another descent upon the coast on the first opportunity, though they had not now ten men in both vessels in perfect health, but their necessities admitted of no other remedy. The stock-fish, on which they had lived for some time past, was now so full of worms, and stunk so abominably, that, instead of eating it, they were unable to come near it. The officers were unable now to pacify the men with stories of relief in the East Indies, for they unanimously declared that immediate death on shore would be more welcome than living longer at sea in this dreadful condition. In this forlorn condition they arrived in the lat. of 2° S. where they fortunately fell in with the islands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*,[2] formerly discovered by Schouten, and immediately

[2] It is utterly impossible to ascertain what islands are here meant, as the indications of the voyage are so entirely vague. In the indicated latitude,

diately determined upon endeavouring to procure relief from Arimoa, the larger of these islands. The natives, on perceiving the approach of the two ships, came immediately off to meet them in their canoes, of which they had prodigious numbers. All of these people were armed with bows and arrows, even their women and children; but they brought with them various refreshments, as cocoa-nuts, *pisans*, or Indian figs, with various other fruits, and different kinds of roots, rowing directly to the ships without any signs of fear or distrust. The Dutch gave them such kind of trifles as they had by way of presents, and in return for these refreshments; but on shewing more of these, and giving the islanders to understand, by signs, that such was the merchandize they had to give in barter for refreshments, they looked at them coolly, as if they had no desire to trade for such commodities. Next day, however, they returned with great quantities of similar articles of provision; and the Dutch having endeavoured to express by signs that they wished them to bring some hogs, the natives mistook their meaning, and brought two or three dogs the day following, to the great disappointment of the Dutch.

These refreshments were very seasonable, and greatly amended the health of many of the sick people in the two ships; and our author is convinced that most of them would have perfectly recovered in a few days, if they could have ventured to live on shore. The islanders never failed to invite them ashore every time they came off; but being greatly weakened, as for some days they had thrown four or five of their people overboard, they did not think it prudent to run so great a hazard; more especially as, even in the midst of their civility, the air, look, and language of these people seemed to savour of perfidy, and besides the island was extremely populous. The Dutch noticed that these islanders, always on coming on board their ships, carried a piece of stick to which some white stuff was fixed, as if in the nature of a flag of truce, whence they supposed they were often at war with some neighbouring nation or tribe, and especially with

off the mouth of the Great bay, in New Guinea, there are two considerable islands, named Mysony, or Schouten's island, and Jobie, or Long-island, which may possibly be Arimoa and Moa. Perhaps Jobie of our modern maps includes both, as in some more recent maps it is laid down as two contiguous islands, and it is more exactly in the indicated latitude, while Mysory is rather less than one degree from the line.

with the inhabitants of *Moa*, particularly as none of their canoes ever went ashore on that island, but always, on the contrary, passed it with evident precipitation. These remarks furnished the Dutch with a new project by which to acquire a considerable stock of provisions speedily, by a sudden descent on Moa, which appeared to be but thinly peopled, though as pleasant and fertile as the other, hoping to carry off at once enough of provisions to enable them to prosecute their voyage, without the risk of falling again into the distress they had so lately endured.

This bold scheme required much prudence, and it was thought expedient to land in different places at once, one party being directed to advance into the country, while the others should be at hand to support them, and to secure their retreat. This was accordingly very happily effected; for, although the natives formed an ambush behind the trees and bushes, and discharged their arrows at the principal party as soon as they began to cut down the cocoa-trees, the Dutch fortunately remained uninjured, and laid many of the natives dead by discharges of their fire-arms. This so frightened the rest that they took refuge in their canoes, whence they endeavoured by cries and shouts to alarm the rest of their countrymen to come to their assistance: But the Dutch were so judiciously posted as to constrain them to remain in the mountains, by which means the main party were enabled to carry off about 800 cocoa-nuts to their boats, with which booty they rejoined their ships.

The *cocoa-tree* is a species of palm, found in most parts of the East and West Indies. The trunk is large, straight, and lofty, tapering insensibly to the top, whence the fruit hangs in bunches united by a tendril, not unlike the twig of a vine, but stronger. The flowers are yellow, resembling those of the chesnut. As it produces new bunches every month, there are always some quite ripe, some green, some just beginning to button, and others in full flower. The fruit is three-lobed and of a greenish hue, of different sizes, from the size of an ordinary tennis-ball, to that of a man's head, and is composed of two rinds. The outer is composed of long tough fibres, between red and yellow colour, the second being a hard shell. Within this is a thick firm white substance or kernel, lining the shell, tasting like a sweet almond; and in a central hollow of this kernel there is a considerable quantity of a clear, bright, cool liquor, tasting like sugared water. The

natives

natives of the countries in which these trees grow, eat the kernel with their victuals instead of bread; and likewise extract from it, by pressure, a liquor resembling milk of almonds in taste and consistence. When this milk is exposed to the action of fire, it changes to a kind of oil, which they use as we do butter in dressing their victuals, and also burn in their lamps; and they likewise employ it for smearing their bodies. They also draw from the tree a liquor called *sura* by the Indians, and which the Europeans name *toddy*, or palm-wine. For this purpose, having cut one of the largest twigs about a foot from the body of the tree, they hang to this stump a bottle or calabash, into which the sap distils. This *sura* is of a very agreeable taste, little inferior to the Spanish white wine; but being strong and heady, is generally diluted with fresh clear water got from the nut. It does not however keep, as it becomes sour in about two days; when, by exposure to the sun, it is converted into excellent vinegar. When boiled in its recent state, it is converted into another liquor, called *orraqua* by the Indians; from which they distil a spirituous liquor called arrack, which many people prefer to the other liquor of the same name distilled from rice in India, which is so well known and so much esteemed in Europe.

Besides cocoa-nuts, the Dutch found in Moa great plenty of pomegranates of exquisite taste, and abundance of *pisans* or Indian figs. These refreshments were of infinite service to them, as without them the whole of both ships companies must have inevitably perished; and immediately on returning to their ships, they began to prepare for resuming their voyage. While engaged in these preparations, the inhabitants of Moa came off to the ships in about 200 canoes, which they exchanged with the Dutch for various articles, apparently doing this to prevent the Dutch from making a second descent on their island: But on this occasion, though the Dutch received them kindly, and treated them with fairness in purchasing their provisions, they would only admit a few of them into the ships at once; and when the islanders attempted to rush on board in crowds, they fired upon them. On these occasions, the natives all ducked their heads, and when they raised them again broke out into loud laughter. This exchange was no sooner over than they weighed anchor and proceeded on their voyage. The author of this narrative remarks, that such of the sick as had any

 strength

strength remaining recovered surprisingly at these islands, through the excellent refreshments they procured there, while those who were already quite exhausted soon died.

Leaving these islands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*, they continued their voyage through a part of the sea so very full of islands, that finding it difficult or impossible to count them, they gave them the name of *Thousand Isles.*[3] Their inhabitants were negroes, of a short squat make, and their heads covered with thick curled wool, being a bold, mischievous, and intractable race of savages. They were all naked, men, women, and children, having no other ornaments except a belt about two fingers broad, stuck full of teeth, and bracelets of the same; and some of them wore light straw hats, adorned with the feathers of the *Bird-of-Paradise.* These birds are said to be found no where else but in these islands. Such of these islands as are situated near the west point of New Guinea are still called the *Islands of the Popoes* or *Papuas*, the continent itself being called the *Land of Papua*, till Schouten imposed upon it the name of *New Guinea*, chiefly because of its being in the same latitude with *Old Guinea.*[4]

When the inhabitants of these islands go to Ternate, Banda, Amboina, or any of the Moluccas, in order to sell their salt pork, *amber*,[5] gold-dust, and other merchandise, they always carry some of these *Birds-of-Paradise*, which they constantly sell dead, affirming that they find them so, and that they know not whence they come or where they breed. This bird is always seen very high in the air. It is extremely light, as its bulk consists mostly of feathers, which are extremely beautiful, rendering it one of the greatest curiosities in the world. The plumage of the head is as bright as burnished gold; that of the neck resembles the neck of a drake; and those of the wings and tail are like those of a peacock. In beak and form, this bird comes nearest to a swallow, though considerably larger. Such as deal in them endeavour to persuade strangers that they have no feet, and that they hang themselves, when they sleep, to the boughs of trees by means of their feathers. But, in reality, these traders cut off their feet, to render them the more wonderful. They also

[3] These appear, by the sequel, to have been the islands at the N.W. extremity of Papua or New Guinea, and from thence to Celebes.—E.

[4] More probably because of its inhabitants being negroes.—E.

[5] Perhaps ambergris ought to be here understood.—E.

also pretend that the male has a cavity on his back, where the female lodges her young till they are able to fly. They always cut off the feet of these birds so close to the body, that the flesh dries in such a manner that the skin and feathers perfectly unite, making it impossible to perceive the smallest scar. They also assert, that these birds are perpetually on the wing, subsisting on birds and insects, which they catch in the air. The feathers of the male are much brighter than those of the female. In the east, this bird is usually called *Mancodiata*, or the Bird-of-God. Great numbers of them are sent to Batavia, where they generally sell for three crowns each. The Moors, Arabians, and Persians are anxious to procure these birds, with which they adorn their saddles and housings, often mixing with them pearls and diamonds. They wear them also in their turbans, especially on going to war, having a superstitious notion that they act as a charm or talisman, capable of preserving them from wounds. Formerly, the Shah and Mogul used to present their favourites with one of these birds, as a mark of esteem or favour.

Besides their girdle and bracelets, formerly mentioned, the *Popoes*, or inhabitants of the Thousand Isles, wear a bit of stick, the size of a tobacco-pipe and the length of a finger, thrust through the gristle of the nose, which they think renders them terrible to their enemies, as some Europeans consider mustachios. They are the worst and most savage people in all the South Seas. The continent of *New Guinea* appeared a high country, extremely full of trees and plants of a vast variety of kinds, so that, in sailing 400 leagues along its coast, they did not observe one barren spot. Our author thinks that it probably contains many precious commodities, as rich metals and valuable spices, especially as most of the countries hitherto discovered under the same parallel are not deficient in such riches. He was afterwards assured, that some of the free burgesses in the Moluccas go annually to New Guinea, where they exchange small pieces of iron for nutmegs. Schouten and other navigators conceived high ideas of this country, and represented it as one of the finest and richest in the world; but they were unable to penetrate any way into the interior, which could not be done with a small force, as it is extremely populous, and the natives are mostly well armed, and of a martial disposition.

Roggewein and his officers were at this time in considerable

able doubts, whether to prosecute the route formerly followed by Dampier, or to go by Ternate, Tidore, and Bacian, as the less dangerous passage. To gain time, however, they chose the former, as they must otherwise have coasted round the last-mentioned islands, in their way to the Moluccas. In this view, they steered along shore, or rather through an innumerable chain of small islands, extending from the western point of New Guinea to the island of Gilolo, making their passage with much difficulty and danger, and were greatly delighted and astonished on getting sight of the island of *Bouro*, in lat. 2° S. [3° 30′ S. and long. 127° E.] the most eastern country in which the Dutch East-India Company maintain a factory. This island is mostly pretty high land, and abounds every where with trees and shrubs of various kinds. On their arrival upon its coast, they were spoken with by a small vessel, in which were two white men and several blacks. The white men examined them very strictly to whom they belonged, whence they came, and whither they were bound. To which they answered, that they came from New Guinea, and were going to Batavia, but wisely concealed belonging to the West-India Company, knowing that the East-India Company permitted no vessels, except their own, to navigate these seas, and had given strict orders to capture all strange vessels that might appear there. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the English sometimes find their way among these islands, to the no small displeasure of the Dutch company, although they keep ships cruizing here during both monsoons, to preserve their monopoly of spices.

The island of *Bouro* is about forty or fifty leagues in circumference, and is indifferently fertile, formerly producing abundance of clove-trees; but a detachment of Dutch soldiers is sent yearly to grub them up, as they do also in the other Molucca islands, because Amboina is thought to produce enough of that commodity to maintain their commerce. Formerly also the Dutch had a strong fort here, which the natives took and demolished after a long siege, putting all the garrison to the sword. At present, [in 1721,] the company only sends a detachment of soldiers to root out the clove-trees, for which the inhabitants receive some present. The two whites who were on board this Dutch bark were the first Christians seen by Roggewein for the space of ten months, or since leaving the coast of Brazil. Continuing their course for the island of *Bootan*, in hopes of meeting

with

with refreshments, of which they were now in extreme want, they arrived there in lat. 4° S.[6] and sailed along its coast for a whole day, in hopes of finding the strait for which they sought, and at length found they were eight leagues to leeward of it, and the monsoon now blew too strong to be able to bear up for the intended port. They had now no hopes of being able to find any port for refreshments till they should arrive at the island of Java; as, wherever they might attempt to land, they well knew that their ships would be confiscated, in consequence of the invariable maxims of the East-India Company. All men therefore, but especially the sick and feeble, cast an anxious look on the fertile island now left behind them, presaging the melancholy effects which must necessarily attend so pernicious a measure.

The situation of the island of *Bootan* is remarkably advantageous, being in from 4° to 6° of S. latitude, and nearly equal in size to the island of *Bouro*. It is extremely fertile, especially in rice, and has abundance of cattle and fish. It would also produce plenty both of clove and nutmeg trees, if they were permitted to grow. The king of the island has a very strong fort, on which the Dutch standard is displayed, though there is no Dutch garrison; the company contenting itself with sending deputies yearly to see the spice trees destroyed, in consideration of which the king receives a considerable sum yearly from the company. This nation is the most faithful of all the inhabitants of the Indian islands to the India company, having not only assisted them in expelling the Portuguese, but also against the inhabitants of the Moluccas, whenever they have attempted to revolt; by which means the company has acquired the whole trade of this part of the world. In consideration of this, the inhabitants of Bootan enjoy many privileges that are denied to all other Indians: As, for instance, they are allowed to come into any of the Dutch forts armed, which is never allowed even to the natives of the countries in which the forts are situated. Some time before this voyage, the king of Bootan sent his eldest son ambassador to the governor-general of Batavia, where he was received with every mark of honour and distinction. It would not have been easy to have known this prince for an Indian, had he not worn a triple-rowed turban, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, as the rest of his dress

6 The northern end of Bootan is in lat. 4° 40′ S.

dress was entirely European, and he wore a sword instead of a cutlass, which no Indian had done before. His train was numerous and splendid, all dressed in the Indian manner: Twelve of them were armed with cuirasses and bucklers, carrying each a naked sword resting on his shoulder. At this time there was a prodigious mortality in Batavia, which carried off 500 of the attendants of this prince, and destroyed no less than 150,000 persons in one year, besides vast numbers of beasts. This mortality was occasioned by a malignant pestilential fever, which attacked indiscriminately all the inhabitants of Batavia, Europeans, natives, Chinese, and blacks. It spread also through Bengal and all the dominions of the Great Mogul, where it made incredible ravages, and extended even to Japan in the most extreme violence, where numbers fell down dead in the streets, who had left their houses in perfect health. This dreadful malady was supposed to have arisen from excessive drought, as no rain had fallen during the space of two years, whence it was conceived that the air was surcharged with mineral vapours.

Leaving the island of Bootan, and passing through the channel of the Moluccas, or between the S.W. leg of Celebes and Salayr islands, during which course the crews of the two vessels suffered inexpressible miseries, by which the greatest part of them were carried off, Roggewein arrived on the coast of Java towards the close of September 1722.

SECTION VII.

Occurrences from their Arrival at the Island of Java, to the Confiscation of the Ships at Batavia.

ROGGEWEIN came to anchor immediately in the road of Japara, and saluted the city and fort, after which the boats were hoisted out to go on shore, where they were astonished to find that it was Saturday, whereas on quitting their ships they conceived it to be Friday morning. This was occasioned by having come round from the east along with the sun, by which they had lost a day in their reckoning. Roggewein immediately waited upon Ensign Kuster, a very civil and well-behaved gentleman, who commanded there on the part of the East-India Company, to whom he gave an account of his motives for coming to this place. Kuster immediately

assembled

assembled a council, to consider what measures were to be taken on this occasion, and all were much moved at the recital of the miseries which Roggewein and his people had endured. In truth, never were men more worthy of compassion. Only ten persons remained in any tolerable health, and twenty-six were down in various sicknesses, by which, exclusive of those who had been slain in their different engagements with the Indians, they had lost seventy men during the voyage. Their next care was to get the sick men on shore, which was done with all care and diligence, slinging them in their hammocks into the boats. Four of these poor people were in so low a condition that it was thought impossible they could bear removal, and they were therefore left on board, the very thoughts of which, after their companions went ashore, soon killed them. Those who were carried on shore were lodged under tents in an island, where they had every necessary afforded them that the country produced, yet many of them died.

Mr Kuster sent an immediate account of their arrival to the commandant of the coasts of Java, who instantly forwarded it to Mr *Swaardekroon*, at that time governor-general of the East Indies. He sent a favourable answer, promising every assistance in his power, and adding, that they had nothing to do but to get to Batavia as soon as possible. While waiting the answer of the governor-general and the recovery of their sick, they passed their time agreeably enough at Japara, as their countrymen used them with all imaginable kindness. In a few days, the seamen became as frolicsome and gay as if they had made a pleasant and fortunate voyage; insomuch, that those who, only a few days before, were weeping, sighing, praying, and making warm protestations of leading new lives, if God in his mercy were pleased to save them, now ran headlong into the greatest extravagances; spending their whole time in debauched houses, and in swearing and drinking. This our author attributed to the bad example of those among whom they lived, all the lower people at Japara being as lewd and profligate as could be imagined; insomuch, that the first question they put to strangers from Europe is, if they have brought over any new oaths.

The town of *Japara* is seated at the bottom of a mountain of moderate height, is of a middling size, and is inhabited by Javans, Chinese, and Dutch; and was of more considerable extent

extent than now, when in the hands of the Portuguese. Before getting possession of Jacatra, now Batavia, the Dutch East-India Company had their principal magazines for trade at this place, which was their chief factory, and on which all the other factories in Java were dependent; but it has fallen much in importance since the factory was transferred to Samarang. The port of Japara is both safe and commodious, and is defended by a fort, built mostly of wood, on the top of the mountain at the foot of which the town is seated. This fort is called the *Invincible Mountain,* because the Javanese were constantly defeated in all their attempts to get it into their hands, when in possession of the Portuguese; and its guns command the whole road.

The king of Japara mostly resides at a place called *Kattasura*, about twenty-nine leagues up the country, where the Dutch have a strong fort with a good garrison, serving at the same time to secure their conquest, and to guard the king. This prince is a Mahomedan, and is served entirely by women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases, either as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are obliged to go every year on pilgrimage to Mecca, in order to make vows for the safety and prosperity of the king and royal family. His subjects are extremely faithful, and devoted to his service; the principal persons of his court having to approach him on their knees, every time they have an audience; but in time of war, this slavish custom is dispensed with. Such as commit the slightest fault, are poniarded on the spot by a kriss or dagger; this being almost the only punishment in use among them, as the smallest faults and the greatest crimes are all equally capital. The natives of this country are mostly of a very brown complexion, tolerably well shaped, and having long black hair, which however many of them cut short. Their noses are all flat and broad, and their teeth very black, owing to the incessant chewing of betel and faufel.

The *faufel* or *areka* is a kind of nut, not much unlike a nutmeg, but smaller, and in a great measure tasteless, but yielding a red juice when chewed, which juice also is used by the Indians in painting chintzes, so much admired in Europe. The tree which bears this nut is very straight, and has leaves like those of the cocoa-nut tree. The *betel* is a plant producing long rank leaves, shaped like those of the citron, and having an agreeable bitter taste. The fruit of this plant resembles a lizard's tail, and is about an inch and half long,

having

having a pleasant aromatic flavour. The Indians continually carry the leaves of this plant, which also are presented at all ceremonious visits. They are almost continually chewing these leaves, and they mostly qualify their extreme bitterness by the addition of the faufel or areka-nut, and the powder of calcined oyster-shells, which give them a very agreeable taste; though some mix their betel leaves with shell lime, ambergris, and cardamom seeds, while others use Chinese tobacco. After all the juice is chewed out, they throw away the remaining dry mass. Many Europeans have got into the habit of chewing betel, so that they cannot leave it off, though it has proved fatal to some of them; for the natives are very skilful in preparing betel so as to do a man's business as effectually as a pistol or a dagger.

The prevailing diversion among these people is called *tandakes,* which are a kind of comedies, acted by women very richly dressed, and consists chiefly in singing and dancing, accompanied by music, not very pleasant to European ears, the only instruments being small drums, on which they beat with much dexterity. Their dancing is mostly of a grotesque kind, in which they are very dexterous, throwing their bodies into all sorts of postures with astonishing agility, and expressing by them the passions of the mind so comically, that it is impossible to refrain from laughing. The men also practise a kind of war dance, in which the king and grandees bear a part. They also practise cock-fighting, like the English, and bet such considerable sums on this sport as often beggars them.

The country abounds in all the necessaries of life, having abundance of beeves and hogs, and amazing quantities of fowls. The only thing scarce is mutton, chiefly owing to the richness of the pasture, which is very apt to burst the sheep. As to wild animals, they have buffaloes, stags, tygers, and rhinoceroses; which last animal is hunted by the Indians chiefly for the sake of its horns, of which they make drinking cups that are greatly valued, owing to a notion that they will not contain poison, but break immediately on that being poured into them. The high price of these tends to shew that the Javanese are addicted to the infamous practice of poisoning. The land is every where extremely fertile, producing vast abundance of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, rice, cardamoms, and other valuable articles. Of late they have planted coffee, and with such success as to have a reasonable

hope

hope of rendering it a principal commodity of the country. Cocoa-nuts, figs, and a variety of other excellent fruits grow every where in the greatest profusion; and as the trees on which they grow are verdant during the whole year, and are planted in rows along the rivers, they form the most agreeable walks that can be conceived. Sugar-canes also abound in Java. They have also plenty of vines, which produce ripe grapes seven times every year, but they are only fit for making raisins, and not wine, being too hastily ripened by the climate. The sea, and all the rivers, furnish an infinite variety of the finest fish. Thus, taking it altogether, it may be safely affirmed that Java is one of the most plentiful and pleasantest islands in the world.

Having refreshed at Japara for about a month, Roggewein began to think of proceeding to Batavia, encouraged by the fine promises of the governor-general. Every thing being ready, the voyagers spent two days in taking leave of their kind friends, who supplied them with all sorts of provisions, much more than sufficient for so short a voyage, and they at length departed, feeling a sensible regret at parting with those who had treated them with so much kindness, relieving all their wants with so much generosity, and had enabled them to spend several weeks in peace and plenty, after a long period of sickness and misery. Steering from thence about seventy leagues to the westwards, with a fair wind, they entered the road of Batavia, where they saluted the fort, and anchored close to the ships that were loading for the voyage home, believing that all their distresses were now over, and that they should speedily accompany these other ships homewards. As soon as the ships were safely anchored, Roggewein went along with the other captains into his boat, meaning to have gone ashore to Batavia, but had not proceeded far from the ship when he met a boat having the commandant of Batavia on board, together with the fiscal, and some other members of the council, by whom he was desired to go back to his ship, which he did immediately; and, when the two boats came within hearing of the ships, the fiscal proclaimed, with a loud voice, that both ships were confiscated by order of the governor-general. At this time both ships were so environed by other large vessels belonging to the East India Company, that it was impossible to have escaped, if they had so inclined; and soon afterwards several hundred soldiers came on board, taking possession

possession of both ships, and placing their crews under safe custody. Taught by so many and such unlooked-for misfortunes, Roggewein now thoroughly repented having proposed to return home by way of the East Indies, but was now wise behind hand. He had neglected prosecuting the discovery on which he had been sent, for which he now suffered a just punishment from the East India Company, however unjust in itself the sentence might be considered. By the sentence, both ships were declared legal prizes, and all the goods they contained were confiscated; and to prevent all trouble and delay from representations, reclamations, or memorials, every thing was immediately exposed to public auction, and sold to the highest bidders. The crews of both ships were divided, and put on board several of the homeward-bound ships.

Section VIII.

Description of Batavia and the Island of Java, with some Account of the Government of the Dutch East India Company's Affairs.

The city of Batavia lies in the lat. of 6° 20′ S. and long. 107° E. from Greenwich, being the capital of all the vast dominions belonging to the Dutch East India Company, serving also as the emporium of its prodigious trade, where all the merchandise and riches of that princely and wealthy company are laid up. It fell into the hands of the Dutch company in 1618, till which time it was known by the name of *Jacatra*, and soon afterwards they built a fort in the neighbourhood of that native city, to which they gave the name of Batavia. By the time this was hardly well finished, the natives of the island attacked it, animated and assisted by the English, and repeated their attempts several times, but always unsuccessfully, and to their great loss. The last time, they kept it blockaded for a considerable time, till succoured by a powerful squadron from Europe under Admiral Koen, when the siege was immediately raised, and the natives obliged to retire with the utmost precipitation. The Dutch had now leisure to consider the excellent situation of the fort, and the many advantages it possessed for becoming the centre of their East Indian trade and dominion, on which they

they resolved to build a town in the neighbourhood of the fort. With this view they demolished Jacatra, and erected on its ruins this famous commercial city, which they named Batavia.

This city arrived at perfection in a short time, by the extraordinary diligence bestowed upon its construction, in spite of the many obstacles it met with from the two kings of Matarana and Bantam; the former of whom laid siege to it in 1629, and the latter in 1649. It is surrounded by an earthen rampart of twenty-one feet thick, faced on the outside with stone, and strengthened by twenty-two bastions, the whole environed by a ditch forty-five yards wide, and quite full of water, especially in spring-tides. All the approaches to the town are defended by several detached forts, all of which are well furnished with excellent brass cannon. Six of these are so considerable as to deserve being particularly mentioned, which are, Ansiol, Anke, Jacatra, Ryswyk, Noordywyk, and Vythock. The fort of *Ansiol* is seated on a river of the same name, to the eastwards, and about 1200 yards from the city, being built entirely of squared stone, and always provided with a strong garrison. *Anke* is on a river of the same name, to the westwards, about 500 yards from the city, and is built like the former. *Jacatra* lies also on a river of the same name, and is exactly like the two former, being 500 paces from the city. The road to this fort lies between two regular rows of fine trees, having very fine country houses and gardens on each side. The other three forts are all built of similar materials on the inland side of the city, and at small distances; the two first-named serving to secure the city on the side of the sea, and the other four to defend the approaches towards it from the land, and at the same time to protect the country houses, plantations, and gardens of the inhabitants. By these, all enemies are prevented from coming upon the city by surprise, as on every side they would be sure to meet a formidable resistance; and besides, no person is allowed to pass the forts, even outwards, unless with a passport.

The river of Jacatra passes through the middle of the city, and supplies water to fifteen canals, all faced with freestone, and adorned on each side with ever-green trees, affording a charming prospect. Over these canals, which are all within the city, there are fifty-six bridges, besides others without the town. The streets are all perfectly straight, and are in

general

general thirty feet broad on each side, besides the breadth of the canals. The houses are built of stone, mostly of several stories high, like those in the cities of Holland. The city of Batavia is about a league and a half in circuit, but is surrounded by a vast number of houses without the walls, which may be considered as forming suburbs, and in which there is ten times the population that is within the city. It has five gates, including that leading to the port, near to which there is a boom, or barrier, which is shut every night at nine o'clock, and at which there is a strong guard of soldiers night and day. There were formerly six gates, but one of these has since been walled up. There is a very fine stadt-house, or town-hall, and four churches for the Calvinists. The first of these, named *Kruist-kirk*, or Cross-church, was built in 1640, and the second in 1672, and in both of these the worship is in the Dutch language. The third church belongs to the *protestant* Portuguese, and the fourth is for the Malays who have been converted to the reformed Christian religion. Besides these, there are abundance of other places of worship for various sorts of religions.

They have likewise in this city a *Spin-hays*, or house of correction for the confinement of disorderly women; an orphan-house, and arsenal of marine stores, and many magazines for spiceries: Also many wharfs, docks, rope-walks, and other public buildings. The garrison usually consists of from two to three thousand men. Besides the forts formerly mentioned, the famous citadel or castle of Batavia is a fine regular fortification, having four bastions, situated at the mouth of the river opposite to the city; two of its bastions fronting towards the sea and commanding the anchorage, while the other two face towards the city. There are two main gates to the citadel, one called the Company's gate, which was built in 1636, to which leads a stone bridge of fourteen arches, each of which is twenty-six feet span, and ten feet wide. The other is called the Water-gate. Besides which, there are two posterns, one in the east curtain, and the other in the west, neither of which are ever opened except for the purposes of the garrison. In this citadel the governor-general resides, having a brick palace two stories high, with a noble front of Italian architecture. Opposite to this palace is that of the director-general, who is next in rank to the governor. The counsellors and other principal officers of the company have also their apartments within the citadel,

citadel, together with the chief physician, chief surgeon, and chief apothecary. There is also a remarkably neat and light small church; and there are many magazines and store-houses, well furnished with ammunition and military stores; and in it are the offices in which all the affairs of the company are transacted, and archives for containing all the records.

Besides many Dutch, all of whom are either in the service of the company or free burgesses, the city is inhabited by a vast number of people of many different Indian nations, besides many Portuguese, French, and other Europeans, established here on account of trade. The Portuguese are mostly descendants of those who lived formerly here or at Goa, and who, finding their account in living under the government of the Dutch, did not think proper to remove after the Dutch had reduced the country; but far the greater number of these are now of the reformed religion. The Indian inhabitants consist of Javanese, or natives of the island, Chinese, Malays, negroes, Amboinese, Armenians, natives of the island of Bali, Mardykers, Macassars, Bougis, and others. It is a very curious thing to see so great a multitude of different nations all living in the same great city, and each nation according to their own manners. Every moment one sees new customs, strange manners, varieties of dresses, and faces of different colours, as black, white, brown, yellow, and olive-coloured; every one living as he pleases, and all speaking their different languages. Yet, amidst all this variety of people and customs so opposite to each other, there is a surprising unity among the citizens, occasioned by the advantages of commerce, the common object of all, so that they live harmoniously and happily under the gentle and prudent laws established by the company. All enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, whatever may be their religion or sect, only that none are permitted the public exercise of their religion except the Calvinists, any more than in Holland, so that priests and monks must not walk the streets in the habits of their respective orders. All are however allowed to live here in peace, and may exercise the rites of their religion within doors. Jesuits are, however, excluded, for fear of their intrigues; and the Chinese religion, because of its abominable idolatry, is obliged to have its pagoda, or idol temple, about a league from the city, where also they bury their dead.

Every Indian nation settled at Batavia has its chief or head, who watches over the interests of his nation, but is not allowed

allowed to decide upon any thing of importance, his chief functions being those of religion, and to decide slight controversies among his countrymen. The *Japanese* chiefly addict themselves to agriculture, ship-building, and fishing. These people, for the most part, only wear a kind of short petticoat, reaching to their knees, all the rest of their bodies being naked, having also a sort of scarf or sash across their shoulders, from which hangs a short sword. On their heads they wear small bonnets. Their huts or cabins are remarkably neater than those of the other Indians, built of split bamboos, with large spreading roofs, under which they sit in the open air.

The *Chinese* are very numerous, as it is reckoned there are at least five thousand of them in the city and its suburbs. These people seem naturally born for trade, and are great enemies to idleness, thinking nothing too hard or laborious that is attended with a prospect of gain. They can live on very little, are bold, enterprising, possessed of much address, and indefatigably industrious. Their sagacity, penetration, and subtilty, are so extraordinary as to make good their own saying, "That the Dutch have only one eye, while they have two;" but they are deceitful beyond measure, taking a pride in imposing on those who deal with them, and even boast of that cunning of which they ought to be ashamed. In husbandry and navigation they surpass all the other nations of India. Most of the sugar-mills around Batavia belong to them, and the distillery of arrack is entirely in their hands. They are the carriers of eastern Asia, and even the Dutch often make use of their vessels. They keep all the shops and most of the inns of Batavia, and farm all the duties of excise and customs. Generally speaking, they are well-made men, of an olive complexion, their heads being peculiarly round, with small eyes, and short flat noses. They do not cut their hair, as all in China are obliged to do since the Tartars conquered the country; and whenever any one comes to Batavia from China, he immediately suffers his hair to grow, as a token of freedom, dressing it with the utmost care; their priests only excepted, whose heads are all close shaven.

The Chinese go always bare headed, carrying an umbrella in their hands to keep off the sun; and they suffer their nails to grow immoderately long, which gives them prodigious dexterity in slight of hand, an art of considerable importance as they use it. Their dress here differs materially from

from what they wear in their own country, their cotton robes being very ample, and their sleeves very wide. Below this they have a kind of breeches reaching to their ancles, having a kind of little slippers on their feet instead of shoes, and never wear stockings. Their women, who are very brisk, lively, impudent, and debauched, wear very long cotton robes. In general, the Chinese have no distinction of meats, but eat without ceremony of any animal that comes to hand, be it even dog, cat, or rat, or what it may. They are amazingly fond of shows and entertainments. Their feast of the new year, which they celebrate in the beginning of March, commonly lasts a whole month; during which they do nothing but divert themselves, chiefly in dancing, which they do in a strange manner, running round about to the sound of gongs, flutes, and trumpets, which do not form a very agreeable concert. They use the same music at their comedies, or theatrical diversions, of which they are extremely fond: These comedies consist of a strange mixture of drama, opera, and pantomime, as they sometimes sing, sometimes speak, and at other times the whole business of the scene consists in gesture. They have none but *women* players,[1] who are brought up to this employment from their infancy; but many of them act male parts, using proper disguises for the purpose. Whenever they act a comedy, the city receives fifty crowns for a licence. They erect the theatre in the street, in front of the house of him who is at the expence of the play, the subject of which always turns on the exploits of their ancient heroes, or the austerities of their old saints.

The funerals of the Chinese are very singular, as well as very rich and pompous, forming grand and solemn processions, in which sometimes at least 500 persons of both sexes assist, the women being all cloathed in white. At these funerals they employ music to heighten the shew, together with coloured umbrellas and canopies, carrying their principal idol, which they call *Joostie de Batavia*, under one of their canopies. Their tombs are some of them very magnificent. They follow the idolatrous religion of their native country, and have a pagoda, or idol temple, about the distance of a league from the city, where they assemble for worship. They are

[1] This may possibly have been the case at this time in Batavia; but we are assured by recent travellers in China, that they have there none but *men* players, the female parts being acted by youths.—E.

are perhaps the grossest idolaters, and the most ridiculous in their opinions, of all the pagans of the east, as they openly profess to worship and adore the devil. This does not proceed from their ignorance or unbelief in a God, but rather from mistaken notions in their belief concerning him. They say that God is infinitely good and merciful, giving to man every thing he possesses, and never doing any hurt; and therefore that there is no need to worship him. But with the devil, the author of all ill, they are desirous to live upon good terms, and to omit nothing that can entitle them to his good graces. It is the devil therefore whom they represent by the idol above mentioned, and in whose honour they have frequently great feasts and rejoicings.

Like the Javans, the Chinese are extravagantly addicted to gaming and laying wagers; and this humour, especially at cock-fights and the new-year's feasts, drives them sometimes into downright madness. They will not only stake and lose their money, goods, and houses, but sometimes their wives and children; and when these are all lost, will stake their beards, nails, and winds; that is, they bind themselves not to shave their beards, pare their nails, or go on board ship to trade, till they have paid their game debts. When reduced to this condition, they are forced to hire themselves as the bond slaves of some other Chinese. Under such misfortunes their only resource is, that some relative, either at Batavia or China, pays their debts out of compassion, and by that means reinstates them in their property and freedom.

The *Malays* who live at Batavia usually employ themselves in fishing, having very neat and shewy vessels, the sails of which are most ingeniously constructed of straw. These are a most wicked and profligate people, who often commit atrocious murders for very trifling gain. They profess the Mahomedan religion, but are so absolutely devoid of moral principle, that they even make a boast and merit of cheating Christians. Their last chief was publicly whipped and branded for his frauds and villainies, his goods confiscated, and he himself banished to Ceylon; since when they have been ashamed to elect another chief. Their habits are of silk or cotton, the men wearing a piece of cotton round their heads, and their black hair tied into a knot behind.

The blacks or negroes at Batavia are mostly Mahomedans, who come chiefly from Bengal, dressing like the Malays,

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and living in the same quarter of the city. Some of them work at different mechanic trades, and others are a kind of pedlars; but the most considerable of them trade in stones for buildings, which they bring from the neighbouring islands.

The *Amboinese* are chiefly employed in building houses of bamboos, the windows of which are made of split canes, very nicely wrought in various figures. They are a bold boisterous race, and so turbulent that they are not permitted to reside in the city, but have their quarter near the Chinese burying ground. The chief of their own nation, to whom they pay the utmost submission, has a magnificent house in their quarter, well furnished after their manner. Their arms are chiefly large sabres and long bucklers. The men wear a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round their heads, the ends of which hang down behind, and adorn this species of turban with a variety of flowers. Their women wear a close habit, and a cotton mantle over their shoulders, having their arms bare. Their houses are built of boards, thatched with leaves, usually two or three stories high, the ground floor especially being divided into several apartments.

The *Mardykers* or *Topasses* are idolaters from various Indian nations, and follow various trades and professions; and their merchants, under licences or passports from the company, carry on considerable commerce among the neighbouring islands. Some of these people are gardeners, others rear cattle, and others breed fowls. The men of this mixed tribe generally dress after the Dutch fashion, but the women wear the habits of other Indians. These people dwell both in the city and country, their houses being better than those of the other Indians, built of stone or brick, several stories high, and very neat. There are also some *Macassers* at Batavia, so famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow from tubes. This poison is made of the juice of a certain tree, which grows in Macasser and the *Bougis* islands, into which they dip the points of the arrows and allow them to dry. The wound inflicted by these arrows is absolutely mortal. The *Bougis* are natives of three or four islands near Macasser, and since the conquest of that island have settled at Batavia. They are very bold and hardy fellows, for which reason they are employed as soldiers by the company. Their arms are bows and arrows, with sabres and bucklers. Besides these enumerated nations, which contribute to form the population of Batavia, there are several Armenians and

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some other Asiatics who reside there occasionally for the sake of trade, and stay no longer than their affairs require. All the inhabitants around Batavia, and for a track of about forty leagues along the mountains of the country of Bantam, are immediately subject to the governor-general, who sends *drossards* or commissaries among them, to administer justice, and to collect the public revenues; and the chief men of the several districts resort at certain times to Batavia, to give an account of the behaviour of these commissaries.

The city of Batavia, and all the dominions possessed by the company in the East Indies, are governed by two supreme councils, one of which is named the Council of the Indies, and the other the Council of Justice, both of which are fixed at Batavia, the capital of the dominions belonging to the company. To the first of these belong all matters of government, and the entire direction of public affairs, and to the other the administration of justice in all its branches. The governor-general always presided in the former of these councils, which is ordinarily composed of eighteen or twenty persons, called counsellors of the Indies; but it seldom happens that these are all at Batavia at one time, as they are usually promoted to the seven governments which are at the disposal of the company. This council assembles regularly twice a-week, besides as often extraordinarily as the governor pleases. They deliberate on all affairs concerning the interest of the company, and superintend the government of the island of Java and its dependencies: But in affairs of very great importance, the approbation and consent of the directors of the company in Europe must be had. From this Council of the Indies, orders and instructions are sent to all the other governments, which must be implicitly obeyed. In this council, all letters addressed to the governor or director-general are read and debated, and answers agreed upon by a plurality of voices.

The Council of Justice consists of a president, who is generally a counsellor of the Indies, together with eight counsellors of justice, a fiscal or attorney-general for affairs of government, another fiscal for maritime affairs, and a secretary. The first fiscal has a vote along with the counsellors, and receives a third part of all fines below an hundred florins, and a sixth part of all above that sum. The duty of his office is to observe that the laws are obeyed, and to prefer informations against those who break them. The fiscal of the

the sea has jurisdiction over all frauds committed in commerce, in cases of piracy, or in whatever tends to disturb the settled rules of maritime affairs. Besides these sovereign tribunals, there is a council of the city of Batavia, consisting of nine burgomasters or aldermen, including a president, who is always a member of the Council of the Indies, and a vice-president. The bailiff of the city, and the commissary of the adjacent territory, have also seats in this council, to which likewise there is a secretary.

The governor-general is head of the empire belonging to the company in India, being as it were stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the Indies. By his office he is president of the supreme council, in which he has two voices. He has the keys of all the magazines, and directs every thing belonging to them, without being accountable to any one. He commands by his own proper authority, and every person is bound to obey him, so that his authority equals, and even surpasses, that of several European sovereigns. But he is accountable to, and removeable by the directors at home. In cases, however, of being guilty of treason, or any other enormous crime, the Council of Justice have a right to seize his person and call him to account. In case the governor-general dies or resigns his office, the Council of the Indies meets and elects a successor, when they immediately write to the directors at home, desiring them to confirm and approve their choice. They also write to the same purpose to the states-general of the United Provinces, who have reserved to themselves the power of confirming or excluding a governor-general. It is usual, however, for the directors and the state to confirm the choice of the council, and to send him letters patent, conformable to the desire of the council; yet there have been some instances of the directors rejecting the governor-general thus elected, and sending out another.

The salary allowed by the company to the governor-general is 800 rix-dollars, with other 500 dollars for his table, and also pay the salaries of the officers of his household. But these appointments form a very small portion of his revenue; as the legal emoluments of his office are so great that he is able to amass an immense fortune in two or three years, without oppressing the people or burdening his conscience. Being the head and apparent sovereign of all the countries belonging to or dependent upon the company, he is allowed a court and most of the honours usually paid to crowned heads,

heads, in compliance with the customs of the east. When he goes from his palace to his country seat, he is preceded by the master of his household, at the head of six gentlemen on horseback. A trumpeter and two halberdeers on horseback go immediately before the coach. The master of the horse and six mounted halberdeers ride on the right; and he is followed by other coaches carrying his friends and retinue. The whole cavalcade is closed by a troop of forty-eight dragoons, commanded by a captain and three quarter-masters, and preceded by a trumpeter richly clothed. If this office be considerable for its honour, power, and emolument, it is also very fatiguing, as the governor-general is employed from morning to night in giving audiences, in reading letters, and in giving orders in the service of the company; so that he seldom can allow above half an hour for dinner, and even dispatches pressing affairs while at table. He has also to receive all Indian princes and ambassadors who come to Batavia, and of these many arrive every year.

The director-general is the next in authority after the governor-general, and is the second person in the council of the Indies. This employment requires great care and attention, as he has the charge of buying and selling all the commodities that enter into or go out from the Company's warehouses. He gives orders for the kinds and quantities of all goods sent to Holland or elsewhere, keeps the keys of all the magazines, and every officer in the service of the Company makes a report to him daily of every thing committed to their charge. He has the supreme direction of every thing relative to the trade and commerce of the Company, both at Batavia and all other places; and the members of all the factories belonging to the Company are accountable to him for their conduct.

The third person in the government is the Major-general, who has the command of all the forces under the governor-general. The number of regular troops in the service of the Company throughout the Indies may be about 12,000 men, exclusive of the militia, which amount to about 100,000 more, and are well disciplined, and always called out in time of danger. The entire military and naval strength of the Company by land and sea is about 25,000 men, including officers, soldiers, and sailors. For the support of its commerce, the Company keeps in constant employment about 180 ships, of from 30 to 60 pieces of cannon, and in cases

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of emergency are able at any time to fit out forty of the largest size.

The ecclesiastical government at Batavia, or consistory, consists of eleven persons; viz. the five ministers of the two Dutch churches in the city, and that in the citadel, besides the minister who resides in the island of *Ourust*, together with the three ministers of the Portuguese churches, and the two belonging to the Malay church. These last five are all Dutchmen born, though they preach in the Portuguese and Malay languages. As it is deemed necessary that the state should be informed of all that passes among their clergy, the eleventh person is nominated by the government, whose especial business is to see that they do nothing contrary to the laws or to the regulations of the Company. Besides these, the consistory also consists of eight elders and twenty deacons. One principal branch of business confided to the consistory, is to provide ministers for the subordinate governments; where they are relieved after a certain term of years, and either return to Batavia or to Holland, to enjoy the fruits of their labours. Our author relates that one of these ministers went home in the same ship with him, who had made such good use of his time, that he bought a *noble fief* on his return, and became a man of quality. In the smaller places belonging to the Company, where there are no established ministers, an itinerant is sent once in three or four years, to marry, baptize, and dispense the communion; which is necessary, since the synods do not permit the propagation of any other except the reformed religion in the territories of the Company.

For a long time the Lutherans have solicited for permission to have a church in Batavia, but have constantly been refused, though certainly a just and reasonable demand, especially in a place where Mahomedans and Pagans are freely tolerated in the exercise of their religion, and where the Chinese are even permitted to worship the devil. This ecclesiastical consistory has also dependent upon it all the schoolmasters, consolators of the sick, and catechists. Of these last there are many in the service of the Company in their ships; their duty being to say prayers every day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian religion; and as they are mostly natives, and speak several languages, they are the better able to give instructions, and to teach the confession of faith to so many different nations. Such as are

converted are baptized and receive the communion; and, for the better preservation of uniformity in doctrine, an annual visitation of all the new converts is made by the ministers. In consequence of these regulations, the reformed religion has made amazing progress, especially among the blacks, of whom our author says he has seen 150 at a time present themselves to receive baptism. This however is not rashly granted, as all who receive it must be well instructed, and be able to make their confession of faith. The Chinese are well known to be so obstinately addicted to their great Confucius, as not to be easily induced to embrace any other religion; yet some even of them from time to time have abjured their idolatry, and embraced the protestant faith. Yet our author seems to doubt their sincerity, alleging that the Chinese are seldom sincere in any thing; and he tells us, that a Chinese, on renouncing idolatry, said he was about to embrace the religion of the Company.

The country around Batavia is extremely beautiful, and it may be said that nature and art seem to strive which shall have the greatest share in adorning it. The air is sweet and mild, the land extremely fertile, and the face of the country finely diversified with hills and vallies, all laid out in regular plantations, beautiful canals, and whatever can contribute to render the country pleasant and agreeable. The island of Java is about 300 leagues in circumference, divided into several kingdoms and principalities, all dependent upon the emperor who resides at *Kattasura*, except the kings of Bantam and Japara,[2] who do not acknowledge his authority. The country produces in abundance all the necessaries of life, as also great quantities of those valuable productions which form its commerce. It is interspersed by many mountains, rivers, and woods, to all of which nature has bestowed her treasures with a bountiful hand. There are gold-mines in some parts of the country, and for some years the government caused the mountains of *Parang* to be wrought, in hopes of reaping profit; but, after expending a million, the marcasites

[2] There is some strange error here, which we do not presume to correct or explain. In the former section, the king of *Japara* is said to reside chiefly at *Kattasura*, which in the present instance is said to be the residence of the emperor. In an after division of this collection, more ample and distinct accounts will be found of this rich island, now subject to Britain.—E.

marcasites were found not to be fully ripened.[3] Those who directed this enterprise were much censured, and the works have been long discontinued. Some are thoroughly satisfied that the natives find considerable quantities of gold in several places, which they carefully conceal from the knowledge of the Dutch. During the last war in Java, which continued from 1716 to 1721, the inhabitants of some parts of the country were so often plundered that they were reduced to absolute beggary; yet, after a year's peace, they were observed to have grown excessively rich, having plenty of gold, both in dust and ingots.

The mountains of Java are very high, so that many of them can be seen at the distance of thirty or forty leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain* is by far the highest, being seen from the greatest distance at sea. Java is subject to frequent and terrible earthquakes, which the inhabitants believe are caused by the mountain of Parang, which is full of sulphur, salt-petre, and bitumen, which take fire by their intestine commotions, causing a prodigious struggle within the bowels of the earth, whence proceeds the earthquake; and they assert that it is common, after an earthquake, to see a vast cloud of smoke hanging over the top of that mountain. About thirty years before Roggewein was in Batavia, Mynheer Ribeck, then governor-general, went with many attendants to the top of this mountain, where he perceived a large cavity, into which he caused a man to be let down, to examine the inside. On his return, this man reported that the mountain was all hollow within, that he heard a most frightful noise of torrents of water on every side, that he here and there saw flames bursting out, so that he was afraid of going far, from apprehension of either being stifled by the noxious vapours, or falling into one of the chasms. The waters in the neighbourhood of this mountain are unwholesome, and even those in the neighbourhood of Batavia are impregnated with sulphur, those who drink much of them being liable to several disorders, particularly the dysentery. But when boiled, their water is entirely freed from the sulphur, and does no manner of harm, though drank copiously.

The fruits and plants of Java are excellent and numberless.

[3] In plain English, the mineral, or ore, was so poor as not to defray the expence of extracting the metal.—E.

less. Among these the cocoa-nut tree is by far the most valuable, as besides its fruit already described, the bark makes a kind of hemp which is manufactured into good ropes and cables; the timber serves to build houses and ships, and the leaves serve to cover the former. It is said that the father of a family in this country causes a cocoa-nut tree to be planted at the birth of each of his children, by which each may always know his own age, as this tree has a circle rising yearly on its stem, so that its age may be known by counting these circles: and when any one asks a father the ages of his children, he sends them to look at his cocoa trees.

There are numerous woods or forests in different parts of the island, in which are abundance of wild beasts, as buffaloes, tigers, rhinoceroses, and wild horses. These also abound in serpents, some of which are of prodigious size. Crocodiles are numerous and large in this island, being mostly found about the mouths of the rivers; and, being amphibious animals, delight much in marshes and savannahs. Like the tortoise, this creature deposits its eggs in the hot sands, taking no farther care of them, and the sun hatches them in the proper season, when they immediately betake themselves to the water. A short time before the arrival of Roggewein at Batavia, a crocodile was taken in the mouth of the river to the east of the city, upwards of thirty-three feet long, and proportionally large. They have fowls of all kinds, and exquisitely good; particularly peacocks, partridges, pheasants, and wood-pigeons. The Indian bat is a great curiosity, differing little in form from ours, but its extended wings measure a full yard, and its body is as large as a rat.

There are great numbers of excellent fish of different sorts to be had in the adjoining sea, and so plentiful and cheap that as much may be bought for three-pence as will dine six or seven men. Tortoises or sea-turtle also are abundant, their flesh resembling veal, and there are many persons who think it much better. The flat country round Batavia abounds in all kinds of provisions; and to prevent all danger of scarcity, vessels belonging to the Company are continually employed in bringing provisions, spiceries, and all other necessaries, from the most distant parts of the island, together with indigo, rice, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, and the like. In the magazines and store-houses, there are always vast quantities of rich and valuable commodities, not of Java only, but of all parts of India, ready to be transported

ed to other parts of the Company's dominions, in the ships which return annually to Holland.

The homeward-bound ships sail five times every year from Batavia. The first fleet sails in July, generally consisting of four or five sail, which touch on their way at the island of Ceylon. The second, of six or seven vessels, sails in September. The third usually consists of from sixteen to twenty ships, and leaves Batavia in October. The fourth, of four or five vessels, sails in January. And the fifth, being only a single ship, generally sails in March, but not till the arrival of the fleet from China which brings the tea, of which the principal part of the cargo of this ship consists, wherefore it is usually called the *tea-ship:* The common people call it also the *book-ship,* as it carries home the current account of the whole year, by which the Company is enabled to judge of the state of its trade in India. It is to be observed that these ships, laden with the rich commodities of many countries, all sail from this single port of Batavia; the ships from Mokha which carry coffee, being the only vessels in the service of the Dutch East India Company that are allowed to proceed directly home without going to Batavia.

Section IX.

Description of Ceylon.

The next best government belonging to the Dutch East India Company, after Batavia, is that of the island of Ceylon. The governor of this island is generally a member of the council of the Indies, and has a council appointed to assist him, framed after the model of that in Batavia, only that the members are not quite such great men. Though the governor of Ceylon be dependent upon the Council of the Indies at Batavia, he is at liberty to write directly to the directors of the Company in Holland, without asking permission from the governor-general, or being obliged to give any account of his conduct in so doing. This singular privilege has had bad effects, having even tempted some governors of Ceylon to endeavour to withdraw themselves from their obedience to the Company, in order to become absolute sovereigns of the island. There have been many examples of this kind, but it may be sufficient to mention the

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two last, owing to the tyranny of two successive governors, Vuist and Versluys, which made a considerable noise in Europe.

When Mr Rumpf left the government of Ceylon, his immediate successor, Mr Vuist, began to act the tyrant towards all who were not so fortunate as to be in his good graces, persecuting both Europeans and natives. Having from the beginning formed the project of rendering himself an independent sovereign, he pursued his plan steadily, by such methods as seemed best calculated to insure success. He thought it necessary in the first place to rid himself of the richest persons in the island, and of all having the reputation of wisdom, experience, and penetration. In order to save appearances, and to play the villain with an air of justice, he thought it necessary to trump up a pretended plot, and caused informations to be preferred against such persons as he intended to ruin, charging them with having entered into a conspiracy to betray the principal fortresses of the island into the hands of some foreign power. This scheme secured him in two ways, as it seemed to manifest his great zeal for the interest of the Company, and enabled him to convict those he hated of high treason, and to deprive them at once of life and fortune. To manage this the more easily, he contrived to change the members of his council, into which he brought creatures of his own, on whose acquiescence in his iniquities he could depend upon. The confiscations of the estates and effects of a number of innocent persons whom he had murdered by these false judicial proceedings, gave him the means of obliging many, and gained him numerous dependants.

Vuist was born in India of Dutch parents, and had a strong natural capacity which had been improved by assiduous application to his studies. His dark brow, and morose air, shewed the cruelty of his disposition: Yet he loved and protected the Indians, either from a natural disposition, or because he deemed them fit instruments to forward his designs. In order to gain the natives in his interest, he preferred them to many vacant offices under his government, in direct opposition to repeated instructions from the Company, to bestow the principal offices on Dutchmen or other Europeans. After carrying on his designs with much dexterity, and having acquired by gifts a vast number of dependants, ready to support his purposes, some of the faithful servants of

of the Company sent such clear and distinct information of his proceedings to Holland, as sufficiently evinced his real intentions, in spite of all his arts to conceal them. At length the Company sent out Mr Versluys to supersede him in the government of Ceylon, with orders to send him prisoner to Batavia. As soon as he arrived there, abundance of informations were preferred against him, for a variety of crimes both of a private and public nature, into all of which the council of justice made strict inquisition, and were furnished with abundant proofs of his guilt. In the end, he freely confessed that he had caused nineteen innocent persons to be put to death, having put them all to the torture, extorting from all of them confessions of crimes which they had never even dreamt of committing. He was accordingly sentenced to be broken alive on the wheel, his body to be quartered, and his quarters burnt to ashes and thrown into the sea.

Such was the deserved end of the traitor and tyrant Vuist; yet Versluys, who was sent expressly to amend what the other had done amiss, and to make the people forget the excesses of his predecessor by a mild and gentle administration, acted perhaps even worse than Vuist. Versluys was by no means of a cruel disposition, wherefore, strictly speaking, he shed no blood, yet acted as despotically and tyrannically as the other, though with more subtilty and under a fairer appearance. His great point was not the absolute possession of the country, but to possess himself of all that it contained of value. For this purpose, immediately on getting possession of the government, he raised the price of rice, the bread of the country, to so extravagant a height that the people in a short time were unable to purchase it, and were soon reduced to beggary and a starving condition. Their humble representations of the great and general misery which reigned among all ranks of people throughout the island made no impression on his avaricious disposition; but all things went on from bad to worse, till an account of his nefarious conduct was transmitted to Holland. When informed of the distressed situation of the inhabitants of Ceylon, the States-general sent out Mr Doembourgh as governor, with orders to repair all past errors, and to treat the natives with all possible tenderness and indulgence. On his arrival, Versluys, after beggaring the whole nation, took it into his head that they would defend him against his masters, and absolutely refused to resign the government; and had

had even the insolency to fire upon the Company's ships as they lay at anchor in the road of Columbo. Doembourgh, however, immediately landed, and his authority was readily recognised by all the Company's servants, and submitted to by the people. He caused Versluys to be immediately arrested and sent to Batavia, where a long criminal process was instituted against him, but which was not concluded when our author left India.

Of all the Asiatic islands, Ceylon is perhaps the fairest and most fertile. It lies to the S.E. of the peninsula of India on this side of the Ganges, between the latitudes of 5° 30′ and 9° N. and between the longitudes of 79° 45′ and 82° 12′ E. so that it extends 70 marine leagues from N. to S. and 49 leagues from E. to W. It is so fertile and delicious, that many have believed it to have been the seat of the terrestrial paradise; and the natives certainly believe this, for they pretend to shew the tomb of Adam, and the print of his foot on the mountain named the Peak of Adam,[1] one of the highest mountains in the world. On another mountain there is a salt-lake, which the inhabitants affirm was filled by the tears shed by Eve, while she wept incessantly an hundred years for the death of Abel.

The principal places in Ceylon are Jafnapatam, Trinkamaly, Baracola, Punta de Galla, Columbo, Negombo, Sitavaca, and Candy. The Dutch East India Company are possessed of all the coasts of the island, and ten or twelve leagues within the land, and most of the before-mentioned towns, except the two last. While the Portuguese had possession, they built abundance of forts for their security, so that the Dutch found it a difficult matter to dislodge them; but having contracted a secret treaty with the king of Candy, the Portuguese were attacked on all sides, by sea and land, and were driven by degrees out of all their possessions. Since then, the Dutch have taken much pains to cultivate a good understanding with that native sovereign, from whom they have obtained almost every thing they demanded. They send every year an ambassador to him with various presents; in return for which his Candian majesty sends to the company a casket of jewels, of such value that the ship which carries it home is reckoned to be worth half the fleet.

Punta

[1] This gross absurdity is not worth contesting; but the fact is, that the real natives, the idolaters of the interior, refer both the tomb and the footmark to their false god, or lawgiver, Bodh.—E.

Punta de Galle and Columbo are the two principal places in the island, the latter being the residence of the governor, and the other, properly speaking, is only the port of that city. Though extremely hot, the air of Ceylon is reckoned healthy, and the country abounds with excellent fruits of many kinds. The sea and the rivers afford plenty of various kinds of fish. There are also on the land great abundance of fowls, both wild and tame, and many wild animals, particularly elephants that are larger than any other country in Asia, also tygers, bears, civet cats, monkeys, and others. *Cinnamon* is the production for which this island is peculiarly famous, as that which is procured here is estimated far superior to any other. The Dutch East India Company have the entire monopoly not only of this, but of all the other spices, with which they supply all parts of the world. Cinnamon is the inner bark of a tree resembling the orange, the flowers of which very much resemble those of the laurel both in size and figure. There are three sorts of cinnamon. The finest is taken from young trees; a coarser sort from the old ones; and the third is the *wild cinnamon*, or cassia, which grows not only in Ceylon, but in Malabar and China, and of late years in Brazil. The company also derives great profit from an essential oil drawn from cinnamon, which sells at a high price; and it also makes considerable gain by the precious stones found in this island, being rubies, white and blue sapphires, topazes, and others.

Off the coast of this island, at Manaar and Tutecorin, there is a fine pearl fishery, which brings in a large revenue, being let twice a-year in farm to certain black merchants. The oysters are at the bottom of the sea, and the fishery is only carried on in fine weather, when the sea is perfectly calm. The diver has one end of a rope fastened round his body below the arm-pits, the other end being tied to the boat, having a large stone tied to his feet, that he may descend the quicker, and a bag tied round his waist to receive the oysters. As soon as he gets to the bottom of the sea, he takes up as many oysters as are within his reach, putting them as fast as possible into the bag; and in order to ascend, pulls strongly at a cord, different from that which is round his body, as a signal for those in the boat to haul him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours so shake loose the stone at his feet. When the boats are filled with oysters, the black merchants carry them to different places on the

the coast, selling them at so much the hundred; which trade is hazardous for the purchasers, who sometimes find pearls of great value, and sometimes none at all, or those only of small value.

The inhabitants of Ceylon are called *Cingolesians*, or Cingalese, who are mostly very tall, of a very dark complexion, with very large ears, owing to the numerous large and heavy ornaments they wear in them. They are men of great courage, and live in a hardy manner, and are therefore excellent soldiers. They are, for the most part, Mahomedans,[2] though there are many idolaters among them who worship cows and calves. The inhabitants of the interior do not greatly respect the Dutch, whom they term their *coast-keepers*, in derision; but the Dutch care little about this, endeavouring to keep in good correspondence with the king of Candy, whose dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid river, and by impenetrable forests. The Ceylonese are remarkable for their great skill in taming elephants, which they employ as beasts of burden in time of peace, and render serviceable against their enemies in war.

Section X.

Some Account of the Governments of Amboina, Banda, Macasser, the Moluccas, Mallacca, and the Cape of Good Hope.

The third government under the East India Company is that of Amboina, one of the Molucca islands, which was formerly the seat of the governor-general till the building of Batavia, when it was transferred there on account of its advantageous situation, in the centre of the company's trade and settlements, while Amboina lay too far to the east. The island of Java also is vastly more fertile than Amboina, producing all the necessaries of life in abundance, so that it has no dependence for provisions on any other country, while they had provisions to search for in all other places, at the time when the government was established at Amboina. This island is one of the largest of the Moluccas, being situated in the *Archipelago of St Lazarus*, in lat. 3° 40′ S. and long.

[2] The author has probably confounded the original natives of Ceylon, who are idolaters, with the Malays, who are Mahomedans, and of whom a considerable number are settled on the coast country.—E.

long. 128° 30′ E. 21° 30′ or 430 marine leagues east from Batavia. It was conquered in 1519 by the Portuguese, who built a fort there to keep the inhabitants under subjection, and to facilitate the conquest of all the adjacent islands. This fort was taken by the Dutch in 1605, but they did not entirely reduce the whole island of Amboina and the neighbouring islands till 1627, by which conquest they acquired entire possession of the clove trade, whence these islands are termed the *gold-mine* of the company, owing to the vast profit they draw from them, and it is so far superior to other gold-mines, that there is no fear of these islands being ever exhausted of that commodity. A pound weight of cloves or nutmegs, for the company has the entire monopoly of both, does not in fact cost the company much more than a halfpenny, and every one knows at what rate the spices are sold in Europe. Amboina is the centre of all this rich commerce; and to keep it more effectually in the hands of the company, all the clove-trees in the other islands are grubbed up and destroyed; and sometimes, when the harvest is very large at Amboina, a part even of its superfluous produce is burnt.

This valuable spice grows only in Amboina and the other five Molucca islands, and in the islands of Meao, Cinomo, Cabel, and Marigoran. The Indians call cloves *calafoor*, while the inhabitants of the Moluccas call them *chinke*. The clove-tree is much like the laurel, but its leaves are narrower, resembling those of the almond and willow. Even the wood and leaves taste almost as strong as the cloves themselves. These trees bear a great quantity of branches and flowers, and each flower produces a single clove. The flowers are at first white, then green, and at last grow red and pretty hard, and are properly the cloves. While green, their smell is sweet and comfortable, beyond all other flowers. When ripe, the cloves are of a yellow colour, but after being gathered and dried, they assume a smoky and black hue. In gathering, they tie a rope round each bough, and strip off the whole of its produce by force, which violence injures the tree for the next year, but it bears more than ever in the following season. Others beat the trees with long poles, as we do walnut-trees, when the cloves fall down on cloths spread on the ground to receive them. The trees bear more fruit than leaves, the fruit hanging from the trees like cherries. Such cloves as are sold in the Indies are delivered just as procured from the trees, mixed with their stalks, and with dust and dirt;

dirt; but such as are to be transported to Holland are carefully cleaned and freed from the stalks. If left ungathered on the tree, they grow large and thick, and are then termed *mother-cloves*, which the Javanese value more than the others, but the Dutch prefer the ordinary cloves.

No care is ever taken in propagating or planting clove-trees, as the cloves which fall to the ground produce them in abundance, and the rains make them grow so fast that they give fruit in eight years, continuing to bear for more than an hundred years after. Some are of opinion that the clove-tree does not thrive close to the sea, nor when too far removed; but seamen who have been on the island assert that they are found every where, on the mountains, in the vallies, and quite near the sea. They ripen from the latter end of August to the beginning of January. Nothing whatever grows below or near these trees, neither grass, herb, or weed, as their heat draws all the moisture and nourishment of the soil to themselves. Such is the hot nature of cloves, that when a sackful of them is laid over a vessel of water, some of the water is very soon wasted, but the cloves are no way injured. When a pitcher of water is left in a room in which cloves are cleaned, all the water is consumed in two days, although even the cloves have been removed. Cloves are preserved in sugar, forming an extraordinary good confection. They are also pickled. Many Indian women chew cloves to give them a sweet breath. A very sweet-smelling water is distilled from green cloves, which is excellent for strengthening the eyes, by putting a drop or two into the eyes. Powder of cloves laid upon the head cures the headache; and used inwardly, increases urine, helps digestion, and is good against a diarrhœa, and drank in milk, procures sleep.

A few days after the cloves are gathered, they are collected together and dried before the fire in bundles, by which operation they lose their natural beautiful red colour, changing into a deep purple or black. This is perhaps partly owing to their being sprinkled with water, which is said to be necessary for preventing worms from getting into them. Those persons who are sent for this commodity in the company's ships, practise a fraud of this nature, in order to conceal their thefts: For, having abstracted a certain quantity or proportion from the cloves received on board, they place two or three hogsheads of sea-water among those remaining,

which is all sucked up in a few days by the cloves, which thus recover their former weight. By this contrivance, the captain and merchant or supercargo agreeing together, find a way to cheat the company out of part of this valuable commodity. Yet this fraud, though easy and expeditious, is extremely dangerous, as when detected it is invariably punished with death, and the company never want spies. Owing to this, cloves are commonly enough called galgen kruid, or gallows-spice, as frequently bringing men to an ill end.

The king of Amboina has a pension from the company, and a guard of European soldiers, maintained at its expence. The inhabitants of the island are of middle stature, and of black complexions, being all extremely lazy and given to thieving; yet some of them are very ingenious, and have a singular art of working up the cloves while green into a variety of curious toys, as small ships or houses, crowns, and such like, which are annually sent to Europe as presents, and are much esteemed. Those of the Amboinese who acknowledge the authority of the king are Mahomedans, but there are many idolaters who live in the mountains, and maintain their independence, considering themselves as free men, but the king and the Hollanders reckon them savages; and as they are guilty of frequent robberies and murders, they are always reduced to slavery when caught, and are treated with the utmost rigour, and employed in the hardest labour. On this account a most excessive hatred subsists between them and the other inhabitants of the island, with whom they are perpetually at war, and to whom they hardly ever give quarter. Their arms are bucklers, swords, and javelins or pikes.

The garrison kept in the fort of Amboina is numerous, and constantly maintained in excellent order, being composed of the best troops in the company's service. The fort is so strong, both by nature and art, as to be reckoned impregnable, and so effectually commands the harbour, that no vessel can possibly go in or out without being sunk by its cannon. Although the rich commerce in cloves might make a sufficient return to the company for the charges of this island, yet of late years coffee has been ordered to be cultivated here, and is likely to turn out to advantage. While this island was under the government of Mr Barnard, it was discovered that considerable quantities of gold-dust were washed down by the torrents in some parts of the mountains, and by tracing up the auriferous streams to their sources, the mine has

at last been found. Amboina also produces a red kind of wood, which is both beautiful and durable, and is naturally embellished in its grain with abundance of curious figures. Of this wood they make tables, cabinets, writing-desks, and other beautiful pieces of furniture, which are sent as presents to the principal persons in the government, the rest being sold at extravagant prices all over India.

The fourth government under the company is *Banda*, an island about fifty leagues from Amboina towards the east, and to the southward of the Moluccas. The governor, who is generally an eminent merchant, resides at *Nera*, the capital of the country, and has several other neighbouring islands under his jurisdiction, in the government of all which he is assisted by a council, as at Amboina. In some representations sent home, and published by the company, this island is set forth as being very expensive to the company, and so thinly inhabited as to take off very little goods, while it is so barren as to require large supplies of provisions. All this is pure artifice; for, though Banda is a very small island in comparison with Amboina, being only about twelve leagues in circumference, it certainly affords as great profits, which arise from the important commerce in nutmegs, which grow here in such prodigious quantities as to enable the Dutch company to supply all the markets in Europe.

This admirable and much-valued fruit grows in no other part of the world except Banda and a few other small islands in its neighbourhood, named Orattan, Guimanasa, Wayer, Pulo-wai, and Pulo-rion. The nutmeg-tree is much like a peach-tree, but the leaves are shorter and rounder. The fruit is at first covered by two skins or shells, the outer one being tough and as thick as one's finger, which falls off when the fruit ripens. This outer rind when candied has a fine taste and flavour. When this falls off, the next is a fine smooth skin or peel, which is the mace, or flower of the nutmeg; and below this is a harder and blackish shell, much like that of a walnut; and on opening this shell, the nutmeg is found within, being the kernel. The mace is at first of a fine scarlet colour; but, when ripe, it falls off the shell, and is then of an orange colour, as it comes to Europe. They preserve whole nutmegs in sugar, which make the best sweetmeat in India. The Bandanese call nutmegs *palla*, and mace *buaa-palla*. There are two sorts of nutmegs; the one being of a long shape, called males, and the other round and reddish,

dish, called females, which latter have better taste and flavour than the other. When gathered and the mace carefully preserved, the shells are removed and the nutmegs dried, being first thrown among quicklime, as otherwise worms would breed in and destroy them.

There are several islands in the neighbourhood of Banda in which the nutmeg-trees grow, but these are carefully destroyed every year, which at first sight may seem extraordinary, as, if once destroyed, one would imagine they would never grow again. But they are annually carried by birds to these islands. Some persons allege that the birds disgorge them undigested, while others assert that they pass through in the ordinary manner, still retaining their vegetative power. This bird resembles a cuckoo, and is called the nutmeg-gardener by the Dutch, who prohibit their subjects from killing any of them on pain of death. The nutmeg is a sovereign remedy for strengthening the brain and memory, for warming the stomach, sweetening the breath, and promoting urine; it is also good against flatulence, diarrhœa, head-ach, pain of the stomach, heat of the liver, and amenorrhœa. Oil of nutmegs is a powerful cordial. Mace is an effectual remedy for weakness of the stomach, helps digestion, expels bad humours, and cures flatulence. A plaister of mace and nutmegs in powder, and diluted with rose-water, greatly strengthens the stomach. Being peculiar to Banda, merchants from Java, Malucca, China, and all parts of the Indies, come to Nera and the other towns of Banda to purchase mace and nutmegs; and immediately on their arrival, they all purchase wives to keep house for them and dress their victuals during their stay, which is usually two or three months, and when they go away again they give liberty to these temporary wives to go where they please.

The island of Banda is very hilly, yet fertile, the government among the natives being a kind of commonwealth, administered by the Mahomedan priests, who are very strict and severe. The population of the whole island may be about 12,000 persons of all ages, of whom about 4000 are fighting men. It is so well fortified as to be deemed impregnable, yet there is always a numerous squadron of small vessels on the coast for farther security. The garrison is numerous, but in a worse condition than those of any other garrison belonging to the company, owing to the scarcity of victuals,

victuals, as the island is of a barren sandy soil,[1] wherefore the soldiers eat dogs, cats, and any other animal they can find. For six months of the year they have tolerable abundance of turtle or sea-tortoises, and after this they are glad to get a little sorry fish now and then. Their bread is made from the juice of a tree, which resembles the grounds of beer when first drawn, but grows as hard as a stone when dried: Yet, when put into water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, at least in this country, where nothing else is to be had.[2] Butter, rice, dried fish, and other provisions, are all imported from Batavia, and are much too dear to be purchased by the soldiers, at least in any great plenty. Thus the inhabitants are none of the happiest; but, to do them justice, they live fully as well as they deserve, as there is not an honest man on the island.

According to the Dutch, the original natives of this island were so cruel, perfidious, and intractable, that they were forced to root them out in a great measure for their own security, and to send a Dutch colony to occupy the island: But such a colony as has not much mended the matter, being entirely composed of a rascally good-for-nothing people, who were either content to come, or were sentenced to be sent here, almost to starve, not being able to live elsewhere. Their misery at this place does not continue long, as they are usually soon carried off by the dry gripes or twisting of the guts, which is the endemic or peculiar disease of the country. Hence, and because wild young fellows are sometimes sent here by their relations, the Dutch at Batavia usually call this *Verbeetering Island*, or the Island of Correction.

Macasser, or the island of Celebes, is considered as the fourth best government after Batavia. This island lies between Borneo and the Moluccas, 260 leagues or 13° E. from Batavia. It is a singularly irregular island, consisting in a manner of four long peninsular processes, two projecting eastwards, and two towards the south, reaching from lat. 1° 30′ N. to 5° 45′ S. and from long. 119° to 125° 20′, both E. It is called, and with great reason, the key of the

[1] This is contradictory, having been before described as hilly, yet fertile.—E.

[2] This account of the matter is not easily understood, and seems to want confirmation. Perhaps it is an ignorant or perverted report of sago: Yet there may possibly be some tree or plant affording a considerable quantity of fecula or starch by expression.—E.

the spice islands, and the form of its government is much the same as in the other islands, consisting of a governor and council. Since the Dutch conquered these islands from the Portuguese, they have carefully fortified the sea-coast, and have always a very numerous garrison in the fort of Macasser, where the governor resides; which is particularly necessary, as the island is very populous, and the natives are beyond comparison the bravest and best soldiers in India. This nation long gave inexpressible trouble to the Dutch, but was at length subdued, and stands now in as much awe of the company as any other nation: But, till very lately, the expences of the troops at this place were so large, that the company derived very little gain from the conquest, although the slave-trade here is very profitable.

Before the last Macasser war, which ended in the entire subjugation of the prince of this country, he was able to procure great quantities of mace, nutmegs, and cloves, which he sold to the English and other nations, at much more reasonable rates than they could procure them from the Dutch: For which reason the Dutch were at great pains and expence to reduce this island to entire subjection, that it might become the bulwark of the Moluccas, and secure their monopoly of the spice-trade: But, for similar reasons, the other European powers ought to have supported the king of Macasser in his independence. The island of Celebes is very fertile, and produces abundance of rice, and articles of great value in the Indies. The inhabitants are of middle stature, and have yellow complexions, with good features, and are of brisk and active dispositions: But are naturally thieves, traitors, and murderers to such a degree, that it is not safe for an European to venture beyond the walls of the fort after dark, or to travel at any time far into the country, lest he be robbed and murdered. Yet many of the natives live under the protection of the Dutch forts, being free burgesses, who carry on considerable trade. There are also a considerable number of Chinese residents, who sail from hence in vessels of their own to all parts of the company's dominions, and who acquire immense wealth by means of extensive commerce.

The inland country is under the dominion of three different princes, who, fortunately for the Dutch, are in continual opposition to each other; for, if united, they might easily drive the Dutch from the island. One of these princes is styled

styled the *Company's King*, as he lives in good correspondence with the Dutch, and promotes their interest as far as he can. On this account the Dutch make him presents of considerable value from time to time, such as gold chains, golden coronets set with precious stones, and the like, in order to keep him steady in his allegiance, and to prevent him from uniting with the other two princes of the island. Some little time before the arrival of Roggewein at Batavia, a rich gold-mine was discovered in Celebes, to which a director and a great number of workmen were sent from Batavia; but how far this has been attended with success, our author was unable to say.

Ternate is the fifth government at the disposal of the company, and the farthest east of all belonging to the Dutch dominions in India, so that it is a kind of frontier. The governor is always a merchant, and has a council, like all the others already mentioned. This is one of the largest of the Molucca islands, and the king of Ternate is the most valuable of all the allies of the company; as, although his island would abound in cloves, he causes them to be rooted out annually, for which the company allows him a pension of eighteen or twenty thousand rix dollars yearly. He has likewise a numerous life-guard, with a very strong fort well garrisoned, all at the expence of the company. The kings of Tidore and Bachian are his tributaries. Ternate is very fertile, and abounds in all sorts of provisions, and in every thing that can contribute to the ease and happiness of life, yet its commerce is of no great importance, hardly amounting to as much as is necessary to defray the charges of the government. It was at this time, however, expected to turn out to better account, as a rich gold-mine had been recently discovered. The natives are a middle-sized people, strong and active, more faithful than their neighbours, and better affected towards the Europeans. In religion they are mostly Mahometans or Pagans; but of late many of them had become Christians, chiefly occasioned by their king having declared himself of that religion, a point of great consequence towards the conversion of the people. The inhabitants of Ternate make a species of palm wine, called *Seggeweer*, which is excessively strong. There are here many most beautiful birds, having feathers of all sorts of colours, charmingly diversified, which are sent to Batavia, where they are sold at high prices on account of their beauty and docility, as they may

may be taught to sing finely, and to imitate the human voice. Many Birds-of-Paradise are also brought from this island. There are several sorts of these birds. The most common kind is yellow, having small bodies, about eight inches long exclusive of the tail, which is half a yard long, and sometimes more. The second kind is red, the third blue, and the fourth black. These last are the most beautiful and most in request, being called the King of the Birds-of-Paradise. This kind has a crown or tuft of feathers on the top of its head, which lies flat or is raised up at pleasure. In this they resemble the *cadocus* or cockatoo, a bird entirely white, with a yellow crown on its head.

The sixth government is Malacca, which city is the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, inhabited by Malayans or Malays. The governor here is a merchant, and is assisted by a council like all the others. This kingdom of Malacca is the south part of the peninsula of India beyond the Ganges, being divided from the island of Sumatra by a strait, named the strait of Malacca. This city is of considerable size, and carries on an extensive commerce, for which it is admirably situated, and is the storehouse or emporium of all that part of India. It is also the rendezvous of all the homeward-bound ships from Japan, which make at this place a distribution of their merchandise into various assortments, which are sent from hence to all the settlements of the company in India. It is however subject to the great inconvenience of scarcity of provisions, having nothing of that kind except various sorts of fish. The princes of the adjacent countries and their subjects are all notorious pirates, and give much disturbance to the trade of India; but are particularly inimical to the Dutch company, and omit no opportunity of doing all the evil in their power to its subjects. These people suffered formerly some severe reverses from the Portuguese, who were formerly established here, and since from their successors the Dutch, which has gradually reduced their power, so that they are now much less able to carry on their depredations. The natives of Malacca are of a very dark complexion, but brisk and active, and greatly addicted to thieving. Some are idolaters, but they are mostly Mahometans.

When the Portuguese were masters of Malacca, they had no less than three churches and a chapel within the fortress, and one on the outside. That which is now used for worship by

by the Dutch stands conspicuously on the top of a hill, and may be seen for a great distance up or down the straits. It has a flag-staff on the top of its steeple, where a flag is always displayed on seeing a ship. The fort is large and strong. A third part of its walls is washed by the sea: A deep, narrow, and rapid river covers its western side; and all the rest is secured by a broad, deep ditch. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient, and there are several other good houses, both in the fort and the town: But, owing to the shallowness of the sea at this place, ships are obliged to ride above a league off, which is a great inconvenience, as the fort is of no use to defend the roads. The straits here are not above four leagues broad, and though the opposite coast of Sumatra is very low, it may easily be seen in a clear day: Hence the sea here is always quite smooth, except in squalls of wind, which are generally accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain. These squalls, though violent, seldom last more than an hour.

The country of Malacca produces nothing for exportation, except a little tin and elephants teeth; but has several excellent fruits and roots for the use of its inhabitants, and the refreshment of strangers who navigate this way. The pine-apples of Malacca are esteemed the best in the world, as they never offend the stomach; while those of other places, if eaten in the smallest excess, are apt to occasion surfeits. The *mangostein* is a delicious fruit, almost in the shape of an apple. Its skin is thick and red, and when dried is an excellent astringent. The kernels, if they may be so called, are like cloves of garlic, of a most agreeable taste, but very cold. The *rambostan* is a fruit about the size of a walnut, with a tough skin beset with capillaments,[3] and the pulp within is very savoury.

There is a high mountain to the N.E. of Malacca, whence several rivers descend, that of Malacca being one of them, and all these have small quantities of gold in their channels. The inland inhabitants, called *Monacaboes*, are a barbarous and savage people, whose chief delight is in doing injury to their neighbours. On this account, the peasantry about Malacca sow no grain, except in inclosures defended by thickset prickly

[3] This uncommon word is explained by Johnson, as "small threads or hairs growing in the middle of flowers, adorned with little knobs."—Here it may be supposed to mean that the fruit is hairy.—E.

prickly hedges or deep ditches: For, when the grain is ripe in the open plains, the Monacaboes never fail to set it on fire. These inland natives are much whiter than the Malays of the lower country; and the king of Johor, whose subjects they are or ought to be, has never been able to civilize them.

When the Dutch finally attempted to conquer Malacca from the Portuguese, in alliance with the king of Johor, and besieged it both by sea and land, they found it too strong to be reduced by force, and thought it would be tedious to reduce it by famine. Hearing that the Portuguese governor was a sordid, avaricious wretch, much hated by the garrison, they tampered with him by letters, offering him mountains of gold to betray his trust, and at length struck a bargain with him for 80,000 dollars, and to convey him to Batavia. Having in consequence of his treachery got into the fort, where they gave no quarter to any one found in arms, they dispatched the governor himself, to save payment of the promised bribe.

The seventh government bestowed by the company is that of the Cape of Good Hope. The governor here is always one of the counsellors of the Indies, and has a council to assist him. This colony was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1653, and is justly esteemed one of the most important places in the hands of the company, though the profits derived from it are not comparable to what they derive from some of the islands in the East Indies. Formerly things were still worse, as the revenues of this settlement fell short of its expences. Yet the company could hardly carry on the trade to India, were it not in possession of this place, as here only the ships can meet with water and other refreshments on the outward and homeward-bound voyages; and these are indispensably necessary, especially for such ships as are distressed with the scurvy. This place so abounds in all sorts of provisions, that there never is any scarcity, notwithstanding the vast yearly demand, and all ships putting in here are supplied at moderate rates. These refreshments consist of beef, mutton, fowls, fruit, vegetables, wine, and every thing, in short, that is necessary, either for recovering the sick on shore, or recruiting the sea-stores for the continuance of the voyage out or home. In the space of a year, at least forty outward-bound ships touch here from Holland alone, and in these there cannot be less than eight or nine thousand people. The homeward-bound Dutch ships are not

less

less than thirty-six yearly, in which there are about three thousand persons; not to mention foreign vessels, which likewise put in here, and have all kinds of refreshments furnished to them at reasonable rates. There are almost always some ships in this road, except in the months of May, June, and July, when the wind usually blows with great violence at N.W. and then the road is very dangerous.

SECTION XI.

Account of the Directories of Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia.

HAVING now given a short view of the governments in the disposal of the Dutch East-India Company, which are a kind of principalities, as each governor, with the advice and assistance of his council, is a kind of sovereign, and acts without controul through the whole extent of his jurisdiction, we are now to consider the other establishments of the company in India, for carrying on this extensive trade. In all the countries where their affairs require it, they have factories, in each of which there is a chief, with some title or other, having also a council to assist him in regard to matters of policy or trade. Among these, the directories of Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia are all of great importance, and the direction of them is attended with great profit. The directors have the same power with the governors, within their respective jurisdictions; only that they cannot execute any criminal sentences within the countries in which they reside, so that all criminals are executed on board ship, under the flag of the company.

The directory of Coromandel is the first of the four, and has all the forts and factories belonging to the Dutch on that coast under his jurisdiction. Besides Negapatnam, on the southernmost point of Coromandel, and the fort of *Gueldria*, in which the director resides, they have factories at Guenepatnam, Sadraspatnam, Masulipatnam, Pelicol, Datskorom, Benlispatnam, Nagernauty, and Golconda. The Dutch director is a principal merchant, and if he discharges his office with reputation, he is commonly in a few years promoted to be one of the counsellors of the Indies. It is not uncommon for a governor or director in the Indies, in the space of a

few

few years, to amass a fortune equal to the original capital of the company, or six millions and a half of guilders, or nearly £600,000 sterling.

Formerly, the country of Coromandel was divided into a great number of principalities, and the little princes and chiefs imposed such heavy duties, and gave such interruptions to trade in other respects, as rendered the company very uneasy. But after the war of Golconda, which cost the company a great deal of money, yet ended to their advantage, these princes grew more tractable. At present, the kings of Bisnagar and Hassinga,[1] who are the most powerful in Coromandel, live in tolerably good terms with the Dutch and other European nations; the English and Danes having also a share in Coromandel, with several good fortresses for the protection of their trade.

The great trade carried on here is in cotton goods, as muslins, chintzes, and the like; in exchange for which the Dutch bring them spices, Japan copper, steel, gold-dust, sandal and *siampan* woods. In this country, the inhabitants are some Pagans, some Mahomedans, and not a few Christians. The country is very fertile in rice, fruits, and herbs, and in every thing necessary to the support of man; but the weather is exceedingly hot during the eastern monsoon. All the manufactures of this country, purchased by the Dutch, are transported first to Batavia, whence they are sent home to Holland, and are thence distributed through all Germany and the north of Europe.

The second and third directories are established at Hoogly on the Ganges, and at Surat on the western coast of India, both in the territories of the Great Mogul, and the two most important places of trade in all Asia. The Dutch, English, French, and other European natives trade to both, and have erected forts and magazines for their security and convenience. The best part of the trade is carried on by black merchants, who deal in all sorts of rich goods; such as opium, diamonds, rich stuffs, and all kinds of cotton cloths. The empire of the Great Mogul is of prodigious extent, and the countries under his dominion are esteemed the richest in the world. The air is tolerably pure, yet malignant fevers are common, generally attacking strangers as a kind of seasoning

[1] This seems to be a misprint for Narsinga, otherwise the Carnatic.—E.

soning sickness, in which, if the patient escape the third day, he generally recovers.

Most of the inhabitants of this country are tall black robust men, of gay and lively dispositions. In point of religion, many of them are idolaters, more of them Mahometans, [2] and some of them Christians. The idolaters are split into numerous sects, some of whom believe firmly in the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; for which reason they will not take away the life of any living creature, not even daring to kill a fly or a flea. They have even hospitals for worn-out oxen and old cows, where they are fed and attended till they die of age or disease. These people are in general very industrious, but covetous, false, and perfidious. They employ themselves, such as reside in towns, in the manufactures of silk and cotton; and those who live in the country are very diligent cultivators, so that they annually expect from hence vast quantities of grain to Batavia.

The Great Mogul is one of the richest and most powerful princes in the world, having a most magnificent court, and a numerous army always on foot. The directors at Bengal and Surat know perfectly well how to deal with him, and, by making shewy presents, procure valuable diamonds and other precious stones in return. Surat is a town of no great antiquity, yet very large and immensely rich. It is in compass about five miles within the walls, and is computed to contain about 200,000 inhabitants. The Moorish and even the Indian merchants here are many of them prodigiously rich. The former chiefly addict themselves to the diamond trade, which is very precarious; for sometimes a small stock produces an immense fortune, while at other times, a man wastes immense sums without finding stones of any great value: For, at the diamond-mines, the adventurers purchase so many yards square at a certain price, employing slaves to dig and lift the earth, taking whatever stones are found in that spot; which sometimes are of great value, and sometimes so few and small as not to pay costs. Other Moorish merchants deal largely in foreign trade, and as the Mogul is a very easy master, some of them acquire prodigious wealth, and carry on commerce to such an extent as can scarce be credited in Europe. About twenty years ago, [that

[2] This is an obvious mistake, as by far the greater part of the population is idolatrous.—E.

[that is, about the year 1700,] there died a Moorish merchant at Surat, who used yearly to fit out twenty sail of ships, from three to eight hundred tons, the cargoes of each of which were in value from ten to twenty thousand pounds, and who always retained goods in his warehouses equal in value to what he sent away. The customs of Surat amount every year to upwards of L. 160,000 sterling, and, as the merchants pay three per cent. at a medium, the value of the goods must exceed five millions yearly.

The fourth and last factory under a director, is that of Gambroon or Bendar-abassi on the coast of Persia. The director here is always a principal merchant, having a council and a fiscal to assist him. As this city stands on the Persian gulf or sea of Basora, being the only port of Persia on the Indian sea, and lies at a great distance from Batavia, this direction is not so much sought after as others; and besides, the heat at this place is greater than in any part of the world, and the air is excessively unwholesome. To balance these inconveniences, the director at Gambroon has an opportunity of making a vast fortune in a short time, so that in general, in four or five years, he has no farther occasion to concern himself in commerce. There are several other European nations settled here besides the Dutch, but they have by far the best factory, and have fortified it so effectually, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, who are a crew of bold and barbarous robbers, have never been able to gain possession of it, though they have made frequent attempts. The king of Persia, who reigned about 1722, came sometimes to Gambroon, and distinguished the Dutch above the other European nations by many marks of his favour, and by the grant of many privileges. Some time before that period, he sent a gold saddle very richly wrought, and adorned with precious stones, a present to the governor of Batavia, desiring in return an European habit for himself and another for his queen.

Gambroon is a disagreeable place to live in, as in August it is unbearably hot; and yet the winter is so cold that they wear English cloth lined with furs. They have here beeves, sheep, goats, poultry, and fish, all good of their kinds, and tolerably cheap. They have also grapes, melons, and mangoes in the utmost perfection, and excellent wine, which is esteemed superior to that of all other countries, insomuch that it still preserves its flavour after being diluted with four

times

times its quantity of water. At the time when our author was in India, intestine wars raged to such a degree in Persia, that a ship had to be constantly stationed at Gambroon to bring off the factory, in case of danger. Another inconvenience to the trade on this coast proceeded from the multitude of pirates on those seas, mostly Europeans, who, having run away with the ships of their owners, subsisted by robbing all nations. Among these at this time was a stout ship named the Hare, which had been sent from Batavia to Persia: But the crew mutinied, and forced their officers to turn pirates. After committing many depredations on this coast, they sailed to the Red-Sea, where they attacked and plundered many Arabian pirates. At length, being short of provisions, and not daring to put into any port, they resolved to return; and finding themselves also in want of water, they resolved to supply themselves at an island. With this view, most of them crowded into the pinnace and put off from the ship, which gave an opportunity to the officers to resume their authority; wherefore they cut the cable, and brought the ship into the harbour of Gambroon, by which means the ship and cargo were restored to the Company.

In 1701, the Ballorches, who rebelled against the Shah, attempted to make themselves masters of the English and Dutch factories at Gambroon, with a body of four thousand men, but were beat off at both places; but a warehouse belonging to the Dutch, at some distance from the factory, fell into their hands, in which were goods to the value of twenty thousand pounds. A short time afterwards, the famous rebel *Meriweys* made himself master of Ispahan, where he plundered both the English and Dutch factories, taking from the former goods to the value of half a million, and from the latter to the value of two hundred thousand pounds.

Section XII.

Account of the Commanderies of Malabar, Gallo, Java, and Bantam.

In such subordinate places as were not thought of sufficient consequence to require a governor or director, the Dutch East India Company has established another principal officer, with the title of chief or commander. If the person

person entrusted with this authority be a merchant, he is accountable for his conduct to the civil government, but if a captain, to the military establishment. A chief or commander, in conjunction with his council, has nearly the same authority with a governor, except that he cannot execute any capital judgment on criminals, till the case has been reviewed and confirmed by the council at Batavia.

At the time when our author was in India, the commander at the fort of Cochin on the Malabar coast, was Captain Julius de Golints, a native of Mecklenburg, from whom he received great civilities. Malabar was the first country discovered by the Portuguese in India, and in which they established themselves, not without great effusion of blood, nor were they many years in possession till they were driven out by the Dutch. These conquerors, in their turn, found it very difficult to support themselves against the natives, who attacked them with great spirit and success, and had infallibly driven them out of the country, but for the courage and conduct of Major John Bergman, who preserved their establishments with much difficulty.

Though very warm, the climate of Malabar is very healthy, and the soil is fertile in rice, fruit, and all sorts of herbs. It is divided into many principalities, among which the following are reckoned kingdoms; Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, Calicoulan, Porcaloulang, and Travancore. As the capital of the Dutch possessions in Malabar was the city of Cochin, it may be proper to describe this little kingdom as at that period. It reaches from *Chitway* in the north, and extends twenty-four leagues to the southwards along the coast, being divided into a multitude of small islands by the streams which descend from the mountains of *Gatti*, [the Gauts.] These rivers have two great or principal mouths, one at Cranganore in the north, and the other at Cochin in the south, distant thirty marine leagues from each other. The Portuguese were the first European nation who settled here, where they built a fine city on the river about three leagues from the sea; but the sea has since so gained on the land, that it is now not above an hundred paces from the city. This place is so pleasantly situated, that the Portuguese had a common saying, "That China was a good place to get money in, and Cochin a pleasant place to spend it at." The great number of islands formed by the rivers and canals, make fishing and fowling very amusing;

amusing; and the mountains, which are at no great distance, are well stored with wild game. On the island of *Baypin* [Vaypen], there stands an old fort called *Paliapore*, for the purpose of inspecting all boats that pass between Cranganore and Cochin: And five leagues up the rivulets, there is a Romish church called *Varapoli* [Virāpell], served by French and Italian priests, and at which the bishop takes up his residence when he visits this part of the country. The *padre*, or superior priest at Virapell can raise four thousand men on occasion, all Christians of the church of Rome; but there are many more Christians of the church of St Thomas, who do not communicate with the Romanists.[1] About two leagues farther up than Virapell, towards the mountains, there is a place called *Firdalgo*,[2] on the side of a small but deep river, where the inhabitants of Cochin annually resort in the hot months of April and May to refresh themselves. The banks and bottom of the river here are clean sand, and the water is so clear that a small pebble stone may be seen at the bottom, in three fathoms water.

All the water along this low flat coast, to the south of Cranganore, has the very bad quality of occasioning swelled legs to those who drink it. This disease sometimes only affects one leg, but sometimes both, and the swelling is often so great as to measure a yard round at the ancles. It occasions no pain, but great itching, neither does the swelled leg feel any heavier than that which occasionally remains unaffected. To avoid this disease, the Dutch who reside at Cochin, send boats daily to Virapell, from which they bring water in small casks of about ten or twelve gallons, to serve the city. This water is given free to the servants of the Company, but private persons have to pay six-pence for each cask-full, which is brought to their houses at that price. Still, however, both Dutch men and women are sometimes afflicted with this disease, and no means have hitherto been found out for prevention or cure. The old legend imputes this disease to the curse laid by St Thomas upon his murderers and their posterity, as an odious mark to distinguish

 them:

[1] A very interesting account of the remnant of an ancient Christian church in the Travancore country, a little to the southward of Cochin, has been lately published by Dr Buchanan, in a work named Christian Researches in India, which will be noticed more particularly in an after division of our Collection.—E.

[2] Perhaps Bardello, about the distance mentioned in the text.—E.

them: But St Thomas was slain by the *Tilnigue* [3] priests at Miliapoor in Coromandel, above four hundred miles from this coast; and the natives there have no touch of this malady.

Cochin is washed by the greatest outlet on this coast, and being near the sea, its situation is strong by nature, but art has not been wanting to strengthen it. As built by the Portugueze, it was a mile and a half long by a mile in breadth. The Dutch took it in 1662, when Heitloff van Chowz was commander of the forces by sea and land. The insolence of the Portuguese had made several of the neighbouring princes their enemies, who joined with the Dutch to drive them out of that country, and the king of Cochin in particular assisted them with twenty thousand men. Not long after the Dutch had invested the town, Van Chowz received notice of a peace having been concluded between Portugal and Holland, but kept the secret to himself and pushed on the siege. Having made a breach in the weakest part of the fortifications, he proceeded to a furious assault, which was kept up for eight days and nights incessantly, relieving the assailants every three hours, while the Portuguese were kept on continual duty the whole time, and were quite worn out with fatigue. Finding the city in danger of being taken by storm, the Portuguese at length capitulated and gave up the place. There were at this time four hundred topasses in the garrison, who had done good service to the Portuguese, but were not comprehended in the capitulation. On discovering this omission, and knowing the cruel and licentious character of the Dutch soldiery in India, they drew up close to the gate at which the Portuguese were to march out, and the Dutch to enter, declaring, unless they had equally favourable terms granted them with the Portugueze, they would massacre them all, and set fire to the town. The Dutch general not only granted them all they asked, but even offered to take those who had a mind into the Dutch pay, to which many of them assented. The very day after the surrender, a frigate came from Goa, with the articles of peace, and the Portuguese loudly complained of having been unfairly dealt with by Van Chowz; but he answered, that the Portuguese had acted in the same manner with the Dutch, only a few years before, in the capture of Pernambuco

[3] This word ought assuredly to have been Telinga.—E.

buco in Brazil. The English had at that time a factory in Cochin, but the Dutch ordered them immediately to remove with all their effects, which they accordingly did to their factory at Paniany.

On gaining possession of Cochin, the Dutch thought it too extensive, and therefore contracted it to the size it is now, being hardly a tenth part of what it was before. It measures about 600 paces long, by 200 in breadth, and is fortified with seven large bastions and intermediate curtains, all the ramparts being so thick that they are planted with double rows of trees, to give shade in the hot season. Some of the streets built by the Portuguese still remain, together with a church, which is now used for the Dutch worship, the cathedral being converted into a warehouse. The house of the commandant is the only one built in the Dutch fashion, which is so near the river that the water washes some part of its walls. The flag-staff is placed on the steeple of the old cathedral, on a mast seventy-five feet high, above which is the staff, other sixty feet in length, so that the flag may be seen above seven leagues off at sea. The garrison of Cochin usually consists of three hundred men; and from Cape Comoras upwards, in all their forts and factories, they have five hundred soldiers, and an hundred seamen, all Europeans, besides some topasses and the militia. They procure their store of rice from Barcelore, because the Malabar rice will not keep above three months out of the husk, though it will keep twelve with the husk on. This part of the country produces great quantities of pepper, but it is lighter than that which grows more to the northwards. The forests in the interior affords good teak-wood for ship-building, and two woods, called *angelique* and *prospect*, which make beautiful chests and cabinets, which are sent all over the coasts of western India. They have also iron and steel in plenty, and bees-wax for exportation. The sea and the rivers afford abundance of excellent fish of various kinds, which are sold very cheap.

Cranganore, a little to the north of Cochin, stands upon a river about a league from the sea, and at this place the Dutch have a fort. This place is remarkable for having formerly been the seat of a *Jewish government,* and that nation was once so numerous here as to consist of 40,000 families, though now reduced to 4000. They have a synagogue about two miles from the city of Cochin, not far from the palace of the rajah, and in it they carefully preserve their records, engraven

ven upon plates of copper in the Hebrew language; and when any of the characters decay, they are cut anew, so that they still possess their history down from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the present day. About the year 1695, *Mynheer van Reede* had an abstract of this history translated from Hebrew into the Dutch language. They assert themselves to be of the tribe of Manasseh, a part of which was sent by Nebuchadnezzar to the most easterly province of his large empire, which is alleged to have reached Cape Comorin. Twenty thousand of them travelled from Babylon to this place in three years, and were civilly and hospitably treated by the inhabitants of Malabar, who allowed them liberty of conscience in religion, and the free exercise of their reason and industry in the management of their secular affairs. Having increased in numbers and riches, they at length, by policy or wealth, became masters of the small kingdom of Cranganore: And a particular family among them being much esteemed for wisdom and riches, two of that family were chosen by their elders and senators to govern the commonwealth, and to reign jointly over them. At length one of the brothers invited his colleague to a feast, at which he basely killed him, thinking to reign alone; but a son of the deceased slew the fratricide, after which the state fell into a democracy, which still continues among the Jews here. Their lands have, however, reverted for many years into the hands of the Malabars, and poverty and oppression have occasioned many of them to apostatise.

Between Cranganore and Cochin there is an island called Baypin, [Vaypen] four leagues long, but in no part above two miles broad. The Dutch do not allow any vessels or boats to enter or go out at Cranganore, obliging all to use the river of Cochin, which is a quarter of a mile broad, and very deep, but has a bar on which there is no more than fourteen feet water at spring-tides. The inhabitants of this country are mostly idolaters, over whom the bramins or priests exercise great authority, which they much abuse, of which the following abominable custom is a strong instance. When any man marries, he is prohibited from bedding with his wife the first night, which function is performed in his stead by one of the bramins, or, if none of these be at hand, by some other man. Foreigners used formerly to be often employed on these occasions, as the Malabars made choice of them instead of their own countrymen, often making large presents

presents to the substitutes, sometimes to the value of forty or fifty pounds. But of late the bramins have become so very religious, that they never fail to execute this duty themselves. Besides this, the bramins frequent the company of the women so much, that no one of their religion can pretend to know his own father with any certainty. For which reason, by the laws of this country, sons or daughters never inherit from the husbands of their mothers, but the heritage always goes to nephews and nieces, by sisters of the deceased born of the same mother, as certainly of his blood. This rule is observed also in the order of succession in their royal families, and is a glaring proof of the strange effects of boundless superstition.[4]

The next commandery is *Gallo*, or Point de Galle, on the island of Ceylon, at the distance of about twenty leagues from Columbo, the Dutch capital of that island. Gallo was the first place in Ceylon taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, and still is a place of considerable trade. The commander at this place is entirely dependent upon the governor of Ceylon, and can do nothing without his approbation. About the year 1672, Lewis XIV. sent out a squadron of eight frigates, with orders to make themselves master of this place, this project having been proposed to the court of France by one Mynheer Jan Martin, who had served the Dutch East India Company for many years, and had quitted their service on some disgust. When the royal orders came to be opened at sea, Martin found that the government was to be vested in another person, in case the place were taken, on which he took such measures as frustrated the object of the expedition. Mynheer van Cosse, who then commanded the Dutch fleet, soon arrived on the coast, and the French retired without venturing an engagement. They went to *Trankamala*, or *Trinconomalee*, and anchored in the bay of that name, meaning to force the garrison of that small fort to surrender: But Van Cosse soon followed them, and brought them to action while disadvantageously situated in the bay, and either sank or burnt half of the French fleet. The rest fled to St Thomas, on the coast of Coromandel, intending

[4] This strange custom has been differently related formerly, and we believe more accurately, as prevalent only in the Nayra tribe, in which the women are allowed several husbands at the same time, and may change them at pleasure.—E.

tending to have formed a settlement there; but Van Cosse again followed them to that place and seized all their ships, many of their guns having been carried ashore, as were at this time a great number of their officers and men. The French who were on shore capitulated with the Dutch to quit India, on being allowed shipping to carry them home, which Van Cosse agreed to, giving them his flag-ship, the *Groote Britanye*, and two others, for that purpose. Martin was detained and carried to Batavia, where he was confined for life on an allowance of a rix-dollar a-day.

The next commandery is that of Samarang, on the island of Java, and he who commands here has the direction of all the factories in that island, except those which depend immediately on the government of Batavia. *Kuttasura*, which is the residence of the emperor of Java, is within his jurisdiction. In the year 1704, a war broke out in Java between the brother and son of the deceased emperor, as competitors for the succession, which lasted twenty years. The Dutch sided with the former, but the affections of the natives were with the latter, who drew over to his party a great number of the native soldiers who had served under the Dutch, and who, being well disciplined, behaved gallantly on all occasions, and gave the Dutch much trouble.

At *Bantam*, on the same island, the Dutch have a strong fort with a numerous garrison, to keep the people in awe, who are very mutinous, and far from being well affected to the Dutch government. The king, or rajah of Bantam, has also a fort only a few hundred paces from that belonging to the Dutch, in which he keeps a numerous garrison for the security of his person. The only commodity of this part of the country is pepper, of which they are able to export 10,000 tons yearly. The king is obliged to supply the company with a certain quantity of pepper yearly; but in all other respects they treat him kindly enough. His dominions are extensive and well peopled, and his subjects are hardy and enterprising, but perfidious and revengeful, and mortally hate all Christians. The bay of Bantam is safe and pleasant, having many islands, which still retain the names given them by the English, who had a fine factory here, from which they were expelled in 1683. The territory of Bantam is very fertile, abounding in rice, pepper, fruits, and cattle. In the interior of the country the natives sometimes find precious stones of great value, of which however the Dutch rarely get

get possession, as the people fear they might be induced to extend their conquests, by which they are already greatly oppressed. The head of the factory at this place has the title of chief.

Another Dutch chief resides at *Padang*, on that part of the coast of Sumatra which is called the *gold-coast*. This chief has a council and fiscal like all the rest, and his post is considered as both honourable and profitable. Sumatra is a very large fine island, separated from the continent of Asia by the Straits of Malacca, and from the island of Java by the Straits of Sunda, and is justly esteemed one of the richest and noblest islands in all India. The Dutch have a factory at Palambaugan, about eight leagues from the sea, on the banks of a very large river, which empties itself into the sea by four different channels. The great trade of this part of the country is in pepper, which the Dutch company wish to monopolize, as they have done cloves, nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon; and are at great expence in keeping several armed barks cruising at the mouths of this river, to prevent what they are pleased to call smuggling. It must be allowed, however, that they have a contract with the king of this country to take all the pepper in his dominions, at the rate of ten dollars the bahar of 400 pounds weight, which is a fair price.[5] They have, however, a clause in the contract, by which half the price is to be paid in cloth, at such rates as greatly reduce the cost.

The interior of the island is very mountainous, but most of the mountains abound in mines of gold, silver, lead, and other metals. The company possesses some mines of gold, said to be very rich, and great care is taken to secure and conceal the profits. Gold-dust is found in great quantities in all the rivers and rivulets of the country, especially when the western monsoon reigns, when the torrents roll down from the mountains with great rapidity. Abundance of copper is also found here, of which they make very good cannon. There are likewise found several sorts of precious stones. There is a burning mountain on the island, which continually throws forth flame and smoke, like Etna in Sicily; and there is said to be a fountain of balsam, or petroleum. This island abounds also in spice and silk; but the air is not very wholesome, especially to strangers, owing to the great numbers

[5] Exactly five farthings and two-fifths of a farthing the pound.—E.

bers of rivers, standing waters, and thick forests, which every where abound. It produces no wheat, nor any other of the grains which grow in Europe; but has plenty of rice, millet, and fruits, which afford good and sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants. It produces also, in great abundance, honey, bees-wax, ginger, camphor, cassia, pepper, and many other valuable articles. It is of great extent, being 310 leagues long from N.W. to S.E. and about 50 leagues across at an average. The greatest sovereign in the island is the king of *Acheen*, *Atcheen*, or Achem, who resides in a city of that name at the N.W. end of the island. It was formerly always governed by a woman, and it is not above forty years ago since the government fell into the hands of a man, since which several attempts have been made to restore the old constitution. Acheen is a free port, to which the English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Chinese resort, and in short all the trading nations of Europe and Asia. The goods brought there are rich brocades, silks of all kinds, muslins of all sorts, raw silk, fish, butter, oil, and ammunition, for which the payments are mostly made in gold, the great commodity of the country, and remarkably fine.

During the western monsoon, the rains fall here with prodigious violence, attended with terrible storms of thunder and lightning, and frequent earthquakes; but the people, being used to them, are not much alarmed. The nations are, generally speaking, Mahometans, and are very expert in making all sorts of plate and ornaments in gold, with very few tools, yet with such inimitable dexterity, that their workmanship sells at a high rate all over India. The company sends a great number of slaves to this island every year to work in their gold-mines; but the kings in that part of the country are seldom on good terms with the Dutch, with whom they often quarrel. The principal places where gold is found are *Triou* and *Manicabo*, and the way in which they procure the gold is as follows:—They dig trenches at the bottoms of the hills, so as to intercept the torrents which roll rapidly down their sides in the winter months: and having drained off the water from the ditches in summer, they find considerable quantities of gold-dust in the mud which remains. It is generally believed that this island furnishes annually 5000 pounds weight of gold-dust,[6] yet very little of this

[6] Supposing these troy pounds, the value may be estimated at L.240,000 sterling.—E.

this quantity is ever brought to Europe, being mostly employed by the servants of the East India Company in making purchases of commodities in places where gold bears a high price.

The Dutch East India Company has long entertained a project of building ships at this island, as its timber is so good that ships built here are expected to last forty or fifty years, whereas those of Europe seldom last more than twelve or thirteen years. The Dutch have a strong fort and great factory at *Jambee*, and another at *Siack*, both in this island. This last place is excessively unwholesome, owing to the following circumstance, which certainly might be obviated. It stands on the great river Andragheira, into which, at one season of the year, there come vast shoals of large shads, a third part of their bulk being composed of their *roes*, which are accounted a great delicacy. Wherefore, after taking these out, the rest of the fish is thrown away, and as these lie in great heaps to corrupt, they exhale pestilential vapours and infect the air. The persons, therefore, who are sent to reside at Siack, are much of the same description with those formerly mentioned as sent to Banda, being of abandoned characters and desperate fortunes. There is another very considerable factory on the river Bencalis, which produces a large profit from the sale of cloth and opium, for which gold-dust is received in payment. This trade was discovered about forty years ago, that is, about the year 1680, by a factor, who carried it on privately for his own emolument for ten years, during which he acquired upwards of a *ton of gold* yearly, a Dutch phrase implying L. 10,000 sterling. He then resolved to secure what he had got by making a disclosure of this valuable branch of traffic to the company. There are also several Dutch establishments on what is called the *West-coast* of Sumatra.

A very powerful and warlike people subsists in this island, known to Europeans by the name of the *Free-nation*, who are equally averse from submitting either to the Sumatran sovereigns or Europeans, and have always defended themselves valiantly against both. All the natives of Sumatra are much more inclined to the English than the Dutch, perhaps because they are not under subjection to the former: But the latter use every precaution they can to prevent the natives from dealing with any except themselves. For a considerable time past, the chiefs at Padang have been so unlucky

lucky as to have their honesty much suspected, chiefly owing to their management of the mines, which do not turn out greatly to the profit of the company, while all their officers gain immense sums out of them, which the councils at Batavia are much dissatisfied with, yet cannot prevent. For this reason they change the chief very frequently, yet to little purpose.

SECTION XIII.

Some Account of the Residences of Cheribon, Siam, and Mockha.

THE chiefs of those factories belonging to the Dutch in India are termed *Residents*, and correspond directly with the governor-general at Batavia, and are not dependent on any subordinate governor or director. The first of these independent residents is fixed at *Cheribon*, on the coast of Java, at the distance of about forty leagues from Batavia, where a very advantageous commerce is carried on by the company in coffee, cardamoms, indigo, and cotton. The land at this place is as fertile in rice and other provisions as perhaps any country in the world. This district is of considerable extent, and was formerly under the dominion of four great lords, who used to be styled *pangerans*, but have now the titles of sultans, though their authority is not much extended by these more splendid titles. One of these is called the company's sultan, because always attached to the interests of the company, though in truth they might all get the same appellation, as they are all under the protection of the company, and freed from apprehensions of the king of Bantam, who used formerly to be continually at war with them, and must have reduced them under subjection, but for the assistance of the Dutch. Since then, both from gratitude for past favours, and in expectation of future protection, they have granted great privileges to the company in their dominions. The company maintains a fort at Cheribon, with a garrison of sixty men, and has an excellent factory.

About half a league from the fort of Cheribon, the tombs of the princes of Cheribon stand in a vast temple, splendidly built of various fine kinds of stone, and are said to contain vast riches, yet are left unguarded, from an idea that they are

are protected by some supernatural power; and they tell strange stories of persons having dropt down dead, on approaching the places where these riches are hidden, with an intention to steal. Many people believe that the Javanese priests, who are Mahometans, have the power of causing sudden death by means of incantations; and that they are able to enchant crocodiles and serpents, causing the former to go into and out of the water at command, and the latter to remain in any posture they please. A great number of priests are maintained about this great temple, many of whom have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and are therefore held in much veneration. These priests are all governed by a sovereign pontiff or mufti, who is even more respected than the sultans. There was formerly a considerable English factory at Cheribon, having a small town belonging to it: But the persons of the factory so provoked the people, by intriguing with their wives, that they rose one night and massacred them all. Perhaps this might have been set on foot by their Dutch neighbours.

Another resident has the direction of the company's affairs in the kingdom of Siam, where the company carries on a considerable trade in tin, lead, elephants-teeth, gum-lac, *wool*,[1] and other commodities. The king of Siam is a prince of considerable power, and his dominions extend nearly 300 leagues. Being favourable to commerce, all nations are allowed to trade freely in his country; but ships of no great burden are forced to anchor at the distance of sixty leagues from his capital; because the river *Menan*, on which it is situated, is so rapid that they find great difficulty in getting higher up. This river, like the Nile and many others, overflows its banks at a certain season, so that most of the country is under water for half the year, for which reason all the houses are built on posts. The capital is a large city, consisting at least of 50,000 houses, with a prodigious number of temples.[2] The natives are all pagans, and hold this singular maxim, "That all religions are good, provided they tend to the honour of God." They think, however, that their own is the best; though they sometimes own that the God of the Christians is most powerful, because the head of their principal idol has been twice beaten to pieces by thunder. This

[1] Perhaps cotton, often termed *cotton-wool*, ought to have been here substituted.—E.

[2] In Harris the temples are stated at 30,000.—E.

This is perhaps the largest idol in the world, and is called by the Dutch in derision, *The great blockhead of Lust.* He is represented sitting cross-legged like a tailor; in which posture he measures seventy feet high, and every one of his fingers is as large as the body of a man. About three leagues from the capital there is a temple of vast size, having an idol not quite so large as the other, which the priests say is his wife; and that once in seven years, one of these goes to visit the other. The priests also pretend that both of these idols are of solid gold; but the thunder-clap which destroyed the head of the larger idol detected that part of the cheat, shewing it to be only brick and lime, very artificially gilded all over. One may justly wonder that this accident did not put an end to the adoration of so wretched a deity; but where superstition once prevails, the plainest proofs very seldom produce any effect.

The country of Siam is very rich and fertile, and there is a considerable trade carried on here by the Chinese. The Dutch have here considerable privileges, and are the favoured nation, especially since the great revolution, when they got into great favour with the new king, because the English had been entrusted by his predecessor, whom he murdered, with the best places in the government, both civil and military. The Dutch have a factory on the side of the river, about a mile below the city, where they collect great numbers of deer-skins, which are sent annually to Japan. The Siamese are themselves much addicted to trade, and the Chinese who reside here still more; so that they send ships every year to Japan, which, considering the difficulty of the navigation, is not a little extraordinary. The Siamese boast of having used the compass above a thousand years before it was known in Europe: But the jesuits very justly observe, that the Siamese and Chinese compasses are very imperfect.

The third resident is fixed at *Mokha*, being always a merchant, having two factors under him. This country is under the government of an Arab prince, styled *Imaum*, who resides in the inland country, about 200 miles east from Mokha. The sea-port of his dominions was formerly Aden; but as that was found very inconvenient, he removed the trade to Mokha, then only a fishing village. Mokha is situated close to the sea, in a large dry sandy plain, which affords neither fruits nor water, except what is brackish and unwholesome, and those who are forced to drink it have long worms bred in

in their legs and feet, which are very troublesome and dangerous. The town is supplied with very good and wholesome water from *Musa*, a town at the distance of twenty miles; but it is so dear, being brought by land carriage, that it costs as much as small beer does in England. Mokha is large, and makes a fine appearance from the sea, the buildings being lofty, but they look much better without than within. The markets are well supplied with provisions, such as beef, mutton, goats, kid, lamb, and camels flesh, antelopes, poultry, guinea-fowls, partridges, and pigeons. The sea affords a variety of fish, but not well tasted, owing probably to the nature of their food. It is also furnished all the year with excellent fruits, as grapes, peaches, apricots, and quinces, of which they make great quantities of marmalade, both for their own use and exportation. Yet there is neither tree nor shrub to be seen near the town, except a few date-trees, and they seldom have above two or three showers of rain in a year, sometimes no rain for two or three years. Among the mountains, however, about twenty miles inland, seldom a morning passes without a moderate shower, which makes the vallies very fertile in such corn and fruits as suit the soil and climate. They have plenty of wheat and barley, but no rice.

Since Mokha has been made a free port, it has become a place of great trade. Besides the Dutch factory, it has one belonging to the English East-India Company. Trade is also carried on here by English free merchants, by Portuguese, Banians, and Moors; also by vessels from Basora, Persia, and Muskat. The country itself produces few commodities, except coffee and some drugs, as myrrh, olibanum or frankincense from *Cossin*, Soccotrine aloes from Soccotora, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, some gum-arabic, mummy, and balm of gilead, these two last being brought down the Red Sea. The coffee trade brings a continual supply of gold and silver from Europe, particularly Spanish money, German crowns, and other European silver coins, with chequins and German and Hungarian gold ducats, and *ebramies* and *magrabees* of Turkey. It is a settled point here, though other goods may be bought and sold on credit for a certain time, coffee must always be paid for in ready money. The European shipping that comes here annually rather exceeds 20,000 tons, and that belonging to other nations may amount to nearly the same tonnage. The whole province of *Betlefackee* is planted with coffee-trees, which are never

never allowed to grow above four or five yards high. The berries cling to the branches like so many insects, and are shaken off when ripe. They are at first green, then red, and lastly of a dark-brown colour.

The Dutch have here a great advantage over all other nations, in consequence of their monopoly of the spice-trade, as these are consumed here in great quantities, which consequently enables them to procure coffee at much easier rates than other nations. Yet this trade of Mokha is continually falling off, owing to the vast quantities of coffee produced in their own plantations, especially at Batavia, Amboina, and the Cape of Good Hope: Even the Dutch, however, acknowledge that there is no comparison between the coffee raised on their own plantations and that brought from Mokha.

The *Happy Arabia* is divided into many small territories, under independent princes, styled Emirs, who all pay a kind of homage, but no obedience, to the Grand Signor or Emperor of the Turks. The Red Sea gets this name from several parts of it being of a red colour, owing to its bottom in these parts.

SECTION XIV.

Of the Trade of the Dutch in Borneo and China.

Borneo is the largest island in the East Indies, perhaps the largest in the world, being 220 marine leagues from N. to S. and 170 leagues from E. to W. It is divided into many small principalities, of which the most powerful is the king of *Banjaar Masseen*, and after him the kings of *Borneo* and *Sambas*. The air is reckoned very unwholesome in some places, on account of being low and marshy; and it is only thinly peopled, though abounding in very rich commodities. On the first establishment of the Dutch in India, they were very solicitous to have factories in this island, and accordingly fixed three, at the cities of Borneo, Sambas, and Succadanea; but they soon found it was impossible to have any dealings with the natives, who certainly are the basest, cruelest, and most perfidious people in the world; wherefore they quitted the island, and though several times invited back, have absolutely refused to return. The commerce of

Borneo

Borneo is as rich as any in India. At Sambas and Banjaar Masseen they deal in diamonds, of which there is a mine in the interior country. These stones generally run from four to twenty-four carats each, though some are found as high as thirty and even forty carats; but the whole trade does not exceed 600 carats yearly. They always sell these stones for gold, though that is a commodity of the island, and there is a considerable trade in gold-dust at Pahang, Saya, Calantan, Seribas, Catra, and Melanouba. Bezoar is another principal article of their trade. Japan wood, fine wax, incense, mastic, and several other rich gums, are here met with; but the staple commodity is pepper, which this island produces in as great abundance as any place in India. A drug is met with in this island, called *piedro de porco*, or pork-stone, so highly esteemed as to be worth 300 crowns each; as the Indian physicians pretend that they can infallibly discover whether their patients are to live or die, by exhibiting to them the water in which this stone has been steeped.

Before the Portuguese discovered the way by sea to India, the Chinese possessed the whole trade of this island, and since the Europeans have declined settling here, it has reverted to them again. The places where they are settled are Banjaar Masseen, Mampua, Teya, Lando, and Sambas, where they carry on a great trade, furnishing the inhabitants with silks, chintz, calico, and all the manufactures of China and Japan. It has been suggested, that a more valuable trade might be established in Borneo than in any other part of India, as there come here every year large fleets of Chinese junks, laden with all the commodities of that empire, which might be purchased here as cheap, or cheaper even than in China itself. There come also yearly some small vessels from the island of Celebes to Borneo, in spite of the utmost vigilance of the Dutch, which bring considerable quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, so that the Dutch are unable to sell much of these spices to the inhabitants: Yet they send ships here frequently to load with pepper, endeavouring to keep up a good correspondence with the kings of Borneo and Sambas, for the king of Banjaar Masseen refuses to have any dealings with them.

Considering the vast sway of the Dutch in India, it is strange that they should not have any factory in China. They have indeed formerly sent ambassadors to that country,

try, under pretence of demanding a free trade, but in reality on purpose to gain a more accurate knowledge of the nature of trade in China, and in consequence of their discoveries in that manner, have been induced to decline entering upon any direct trade to that country. While they were possessed of the island of Formosa, they carried on a direct trade to China with great profit: But, since their expulsion from that island in 1661, they have not been able to make that trade turn out profitable. After the establishment of the Ostend East-India Company, they tried to send ships to China, direct from Holland; but even this came to no great account, the profit having seldom exceeded twenty-five per cent. which, considering the hazard of so long a voyage, was not considered a very encouraging return. It has been doubted whether the Dutch were able to deal with the Chinese, where both nations are upon an equal footing, as the latter are certainly the cunningest of men: Besides, the Chinese are less inclined to deal with the Dutch than with any other Europeans; and, when they do, always hold them to harder terms. The port charges also in China, and the presents they are obliged to make, cut deep into their gains.

Besides the foregoing circumstances, as China is at a great distance from Batavia, and as the officers of the Dutch ships can so easily consign their effects into the hands of the Portuguese, English, and other foreign merchants, they have been found to mind their own affairs much more than those of the Company. But the principal reason of avoiding the trade to China is, that the Chinese carry on a prodigious trade with Batavia; and though the voyage exceeds 550 leagues, the Chinese junks make the run in six weeks, sailing from Canton in the beginning of December, and arriving at Batavia in the middle of January. The company has in the first place a duty of four per cent. on all the goods brought by the Chinese, which are gold, silks of all sorts, tea, anniseed, musk, rhubarb, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, china ware, &c. For which they receive in exchange lead, tin, pepper, incense, camphor, cloves, nutmegs, amber, and many other articles, on all which the Dutch fix their own prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other nations can do in China. They have also found by experience, that a direct trade greatly lessens this more profitable mode at Batavia. They have also opportunities of dealing with the Chinese in many other parts of India, where, after

after the Chinese merchants have completed their sales to the natives, they are glad to part with the remainder of their commodities to the Dutch, at a cheap rate. Thus, the Dutch East-India Company are able to send home vast quantities of the commodities of China, and purchased on very advantageous terms, without trading directly to China, either from Holland or from Batavia.

SECTION XV.

Of the Dutch Trade with Japan.

A DUTCH chief resides at Japan, who is always a principal merchant, and is assisted by some writers in the Company's service. The profit formerly made of this establishment by the Dutch East-India Company, frequently amounted to 80 and even 100 per cent. but has fallen off to such a degree, that they rarely make now, 1721, above eight or ten. This has been chiefly occasioned by the Chinese, who for some time past have purchased every kind of goods at Canton that are in demand in Japan, and it is even said that they have contracted with the Japanese to furnish them with all kinds of merchandize at as low prices as the Dutch. Another cause of the low profits is, that the Japanese fix the prices of all the goods they buy, and if their offer is not accepted, they desire the merchants to take them home again. This may possibly have been suggested to them by the Chinese, who used formerly to be treated in the same manner at Batavia. There is no place in all India where the Dutch have so little authority, or where their establishments are of so little consequence, as in Japan. They are allowed a small island to themselves, where they have warehouses for their goods, and a few ordinary houses for the members of the factory; but this island is a prison, in which they are completely shut up as long as they remain in Japan, not being permitted to pass the bridge that joins this island to the city of Naugasaque. The only shadow of liberty that is allowed them is, that their chief, with two or three attendants, goes once a-year as ambassador to the emperor. One great reason of this is said to have been occasioned by their using too great familiarities with the Japanese women; but the true reason is, that the Dutch have more than once given strong

indications of an inclination to establish themselves in the country by force.

A French gentleman, Monsieur Carron, who was for some time at the head of their factory in Japan, and who, in several journeys to the court, had ingratiated himself into the favour of the emperor, by entertaining him with accounts of the state of Europe, got his permission to build a house for the factory on the little island allotted to them. He accordly laid the fortifications of great extent, and continued the work till he had completed a handsome fortification, in form of a regular tetragon; and as the Japanese were quite ignorant in the art of fortification, they suffered it to be finished, without any suspicion of deceit. Carron now desired the council at Batavia to send him some cannon, packed in casks filled with oakum or cotton, along with some other casks of the same form filled with spices. This was done accordingly, but in rolling the casks after landing, one of them that contained a brass gun burst open, by which accident the cheat was discovered. This put an entire stop to all trade till the pleasure of the emperor was known. The emperor, without prohibiting trade, gave orders that no Dutchman should presume to stir out of the island on pain of death, and ordered Carron up to Jeddo, to answer for his fault. The emperor reproached him for abusing his favour; after which he ordered his beard to be pulled out by the roots, and that he should be led, dressed in a fool's coat and cap, through all the streets of the city. He was thus sent back to the factory, with orders to leave Japan in the first ship that sailed for Batavia.

The island of *Desima*, where the Dutch reside, is divided from the city of Naugasaki by a small creek of salt water of about forty feet broad, over which there is a convenient bridge, having a draw-bridge at one end, of which the Japanese keep possession, and no Dutchman can pass this without leave from the governor of the city; neither dare any Japanese converse with the Dutch, except the merchants and factors, who have a licence for that purpose. For the security of the factory, the island of Desima is pallisaded all round. It contains four streets, with large warehouses, and a spacious market-place over against the bridge, where at stated times the town's people have leave to trade with the Dutch. So great is the jealousy entertained of the Dutch, that they are not even allowed to have the command of their own ships while in Japan: For, as soon as one of them enters

ters the harbour, the Japanese take entire possession of her, taking out all the arms and ammunition, which they lay up on shore, and return again in good order, when the ship is ready to sail. They also exact a complete account of all the men on board, whom they muster by one of their own commissaries.

Japan is well peopled, and produces every thing necessary for human sustenance in great plenty; yet the Dutch pay high for every thing they need, and have even to purchase wood for fuel by weight. The mountains are rich in gold, silver, and copper, which last is the best in the world. Their porcelain is finer than that of China, as also much thicker and heavier, with finer colours, and sells much dearer both in India and Europe. The tea of Japan, however, is not near so good as that of China. Their lackered ware, usually called Japan, is the best in the world, and some of it will even hold boiling water without being injured. They have abundance of silks, both raw and manufactured, much stronger than what is produced in China. Their houses are mostly built of wood, but the palace of the emperor is of marble, covered with copper, so remarkably well gilded that it withstands the weather many years. Jeddo is the metropolis, and its magnitude may be guessed from this circumstance, that in a great fire which raged in this city for eight days, about the year 1660, it consumed 120,000 houses, and 500 temples.

The Japanese are strict observers of moral rules, especially in commercial matters; insomuch that merchants of reputation put up sums of gold *cupangs*, always in decimal numbers, in silken bags, sealed with their seals; and these bags always pass current for the several sums indicated by the seals, without any one ever examining the contents of the bags for several generations. These *cupangs* are broad oblong pieces of gold, of about twenty shillings value in Japan; but gold is there so plentiful and cheap, in relation to silver, that a *cupang* passes current in Batavia for thirty-two shillings; and, after being stampt with the lion of the Company, it passes for forty shillings sterling. The Japanese also are exact observers of justice, and punish crimes with extreme rigour. To a man of distinction, when found guilty of a capital crime, the emperor writes a letter, commanding him to become his own executioner, on an appoint-

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ed day and hour, on penalty of being subjected to the most exquisite tortures, if he survive the appointed time. On receiving this mandate, the delinquent invites all his friends and near relations to a sumptuous feast on the set day. When the feast is over, he shows them the letter from the emperor, and, while they are reading it, he stabs himself with a dagger below the navel, and cuts open his belly to the breast bone. The capital punishments inflicted on the inferior people are hanging, beheading, or being flung over a precipice; and for smaller faults, whipping and branding are usual.

The government of Japan would be well pleased to encourage trade with all nations, but for two considerations. The first is, lest their religion should be insulted, which was frequently the case from misguided zeal, while there were any Christians among the Japanese. The other proceeds from their aversion to strange customs, or to any innovation in the manners of the people, from which they dread the worst consequences. When the Dutch were first established in this empire, the then prime minister explained their opinions on this subject in the following manner: "We are well acquainted with the advantages resulting from the system of government established among us, and will on no account run the hazard of any change. We know that great revolutions are often brought about by imperceptible degrees, and are therefore resolved to cure the itch of novelty by the rod of chastisement." Upon this maxim a law is established in Japan, by which all the subjects of the empire are prohibited from leaving the country; or, if any do, they must never return. They are so wedded to their own customs and opinions, and so jealous of the introduction of any new or foreign customs, that they never send any embassies to other countries, neither do they allow their merchants to carry on commerce beyond their own country. A few small junks are sent in summer to the land of Yedso, a country about fifty leagues from the northern extremity of Japan; and it is said that they bring much gold from thence.

There is but one good harbour in Japan, all the rest of the coast being so guarded by steep rocks or shoals, that they have no reason to fear being invaded. In point of military discipline and bravery, the Japanese far exceed the Chinese,

Chinese, and are by no means of so base and effeminate dispositions as most of the inhabitants of that great empire. The government also of Japan is perfectly uniform and well settled, so that there cannot be any diversity of interests; for, though several of its provinces are denominated kingdoms, yet all these petty kings are under the strictest subjection to the emperor, and the laws of the country extend over all. These laws pay the strictest regard to private property, the father transmitting to his children not only the patrimonial estate, but all the acquisitions of his own industry; and this is certainly a powerful prevention of any desire of change. Though the emperor resides at Jeddo, thirty days journey from Naugasaki, yet he receives intelligence in the space of three days, of the number and force of every ship that arrives, conveyed by a chain of signal-posts, by means of flags and fire beacons.

The forms observed in business are wonderfully exact, and the edicts and orders of the emperor are signified in most expressive and dignified terms, containing very little of the bombast and swelling style so common among oriental courts. Yet, amid all their good sense and quick parts, the religion of the Japanese is the idlest and most ridiculous paganism that can well be imagined, of which the following is a sufficient proof. Every family has a tutelary deity or idol, which is placed at the top of the house, and instructed to keep off all sickness, misfortunes, or accidents: And when any such happen, the idol is taken down and whipt, for not doing its duty. *Amida* is the name of their favourite god, his residence in heaven is at a prodigious distance, insomuch that it requires three years journey of a departed soul to reach paradise, which is only the outskirts or suburbs of heaven; but when once there, the soul is sure of getting to heaven, and enjoys a quiet residence in that place, as none of the fiends dare come there to give annoyance. They have several other gods, to all of whom they are particularly attached devotees; and each god has his own particular paradise, none nearer this world than three years journey. On purpose to gain an easy passage to these paradises, some of the zealots cut their own throats, and others hang themselves. Their idols are often carried in procession on horseback, attended by bands of music; and many feasts and sacrifices are made in their honour, the idols being fed on

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the smoke and flavour, while the votaries regale on the substantial meats. [1]

SECTION XVI.

Account of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

NOTHING remarkable occurred to the author of this voyage, while on the way from Batavia to the Cape of Good Hope, except seeing the wreck of the Schonenberg, a ship belonging to the Company, which had been lost a little before. [2] On coming in sight of the Cape, they discovered many French, English, and Dutch ships at anchor in the roads, some outward-bound and some homewards. A little way from the entrance of the bay is a small island, on which there is always a guard composed of a serjeant and a small number of men. As soon as the serjeant sees what number of ships a fleet consists of, he hoists a flag, and fires so many pieces of cannon as there are ships in sight, to give notice to the commandant at the Cape. They are here employed in making train-oil, and in raking oyster-shells to burn into lime. Into this island, malefactors are generally banished from the Cape, and from most parts of India. Here, besides the punishment of being separated from all their friends, they are kept to the hardest labour.

Table Bay is very fine and large, of a semi-oval form, entering several leagues into the land, and may be about nine leagues in circuit; but the anchorage is not every where equally good, and there is some danger near the shore. The middle of the bay is commanded by a very strong fort, being a regular pentagon, and each of its fine bastions mounts twenty pieces of heavy cannon. This fort and the town are situated on the edge of a plain about three leagues in

[1] Harris here subjoins a long enquiry into the nature of the Dutch commerce in Japan, in the form of answers to a number of queries on the subject: But as we shall have an opportunity, in a subsequent division of this work, to give much more ample and satisfactory accounts of these matters, by actual travellers in Japan, this has been omitted, as tedious and unsatisfactory.—E.

[2] This is said to have been on the coast of Africa *at the height of Angola*, whither they were driven by a storm. But this could not possibly have been the case *before* reaching the Cape of Good Hope.—E.

in extent, lying at the bottom of three very high mountains. The first of these is *Lion Mountain*, having some resemblance to a lion couchant. The second is *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, and has a broad flat top like a table, being so high that it may be seen twenty leagues out at sea in clear weather. The third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not so remarkable as either of the other two. The houses of Cape Town are very neat and commodious, but are only built two stories high, on account of the furious winds at S.E. which sometimes blow here.

About the year 1650, the Dutch East-India Company bought a certain district of this country from the Hottentots, its aboriginal inhabitants, and took care to have it immediately planted and well peopled, for the convenience of their ships, both outward and homeward bound. All the inhabitants of this colony are Europeans, or descended from Europeans. Some of the planters are settled at the distance of three hundred leagues from the Cape; yet all are obliged to appear once a-year at a place called Stellenbosch, where the *Drossart* or magistrate of the country resides. They have here to pass in review, as all the peasants, as well as the towns-men, are formed into companies under proper officers. After the review is over, they go back to their respective plantations, generally carrying home with them what tools or other European articles they stand in need of. These people cultivate the ground, raising rye, barley, beans, and other grains. They also plant vines, which produce excellent grapes, of which they make very good wine. Some of these peasants are in very easy circumstances, having, besides large and well-cultivated plantations, great flocks of sheep and cattle.

Among other colonists, there is one about eight leagues from Cape Town, at a place called *Drakenstein*, entirely composed of French refugees, who have a large tract of well cultivated ground, and are allowed churches and ministers of their own. Part of the inhabitants of Cape Town are in the service of the Company, and the rest are free burgesses. They have regular magistrates, who decide causes of small importance, and regulate any little disputes that happen among them; but affairs of moment are carried before the governor and council, who determine finally and without appeal. In the interior country, the drossart determines in things of small consequence; but all matters of importance

must

must come before the governor and council, whose sentences, both in civil and criminal cases, are executed without delay. The officer who commands here in chief, has the rank and pay of major, yet does the duty in all respects of a major-general. The officers under him are captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, who take care to keep their companies always complete and well disciplined; and in case of attack, they can draw together five thousand men at least, all well armed and as good as regular troops: Each peasant knows where he has to repair to, in order to range himself under his proper standard.

It is not easy to describe the expertness with which these peasants manage their fire-arms, an exercise in which they are constantly employed, even from their infancy; and it is almost incredible how boldly they attack even the fiercest animals. Many among them disdain to shoot a sleeping lion, because, as they say, it shows neither skill nor courage: When, therefore, they discover a lion asleep, they throw stones to waken him, and do not fire till he is on his feet. A little before the arrival of our author at the Cape, two peasants went out together to hunt. One of them, seeing a lion, fired at and missed him, when the lion rushed upon the man, who threw away his gun, to have more liberty to defend himself. The other peasant, on hearing the report, hastened to the place, and found his companion and the lion closely engaged; on which he snatched up the gun, and slew the lion by a few blows on the head, but broke the gun in pieces. The first peasant, whose property the gun was, complained loudly of its demolition, blamed his companion for coming up uncalled for, and even talked of making him pay for the gun, insisting that he could have slain the lion himself without aid. It was formerly considered a wonderful deed for a man to kill a lion; but now it is so common an occurrence, that they make no more of killing a lion, than we do of shooting a hare.

The country about Cape Town is full of vineyards and gardens. Two of these belong to the company, which are perhaps the finest in the world. One is at the distance of two hundred paces from the fort, between the town and Table Mountain, being about 1400 paces in length, by 235 paces broad, and having a fine rivulet from the mountain running through the middle of it. It is divided into quarters, in which they cultivate, with the utmost success, the fruits and flowers

of

of the four quarters of the globe. The other garden is about two leagues distant from the town, in what is called the *New Country*, and is likewise kept in excellent order by slaves belonging to the company, of whom there are seldom less than five hundred. The country hereabout is mountainous and stony; but the vallies are very agreeable, and extremely fertile. The climate is perhaps the best in the world, neither cold nor heat being ever felt here to any intolerable degree. The people accordingly live to great ages, and have hardly any diseases except such as proceed from intemperance of some kind. The mountains, which contribute to the wholesomeness of the country, are supposed to be rich in gold and other valuable metals. Some trials have been made; but as yet no mines have been discovered, or at least none in such situations as would permit their being worked to advantage.

Mynheer van Steel, who was lately governor of this colony, travelled over the country, and examined it with much attention. He caused gardens to be laid out, and pleasure-houses to be built, in several places; but the peasants who were employed in building these houses and cultivating these gardens, sent over a representation and complaint to the company, alleging that these works were prejudicial to their private affairs, and prevented them from being able to maintain their families; upon which that governor was immediately recalled. His discoveries, however, were of great consequence, having made the interior country known to the Dutch, together with the nations or tribes by whom it is inhabited. These, so far as yet discovered, consist of seven different tribes, all comprehended under the general denomination of *Hottentots*. The first of these, and least considerable, who live in the neighbourhood of the Cape, have no chief, and are mostly either in the service of the company, or are employed as servants by the townsmen, or by the peasants and farmers in cultivating the lands, or tending their flocks and herds. The second tribe inhabit the mountains, or, more properly speaking, dwell in the caverns of the mountains, being thieves and robbers by profession, and subsist entirely by plundering the other Hottentots, with whom they are perpetually at war; yet never rob or molest the Christians. The other tribes are called the *Great* and *Little Maqua*, and the *Great* and *Little Kriqua*,[2] and the *Caffres*. The words *Maqua*

[2] These tribes are known in geography by the names of Namaquas and Briquas, the latter being also called Booshuanas. The second tribe in this account are named Bosjemans by the Dutch.—E.

Maqua and *Kriqua* signify king or chief, and these four tribes are continually engaged in war against each other; but when any one nation is in danger of being totally ruined, other tribes immediately take up its cause; and these rude tribes seem to have a notion of maintaining a kind of balance of power.

Such of the Hottentots as have submitted to the Hollanders are called the Company's Hottentots. The Dutch send every year fifty or sixty persons to trade among the Hottentots, who purchase their cattle, giving them in exchange arrack, tobacco, hemp, and such other things as they have occasion for; by which means a good understanding is kept up. These Hottentots of the Company are often attacked by the other tribes, and, when no longer able to defend themselves, their king or chief comes down to the Cape, attended by a small escort of his subjects, to demand assistance. He goes immediately to the governor, having in his hand the staff of command given him by the Company, decorated with their arms, and holding it in his hand, demands assistance. If the governor does not think proper to grant his request, but endeavours to shift him off with fair words, he throws down his staff, saying, in bad Dutch, *Voor my, niet meer Compagnies Hottentot;* that is, "For me, I will no more be the Company's Hottentot." The governor generally sends him home with an escort of troops, as it is the interest of the company to be on good terms with these chiefs, who are always ready to do any service required of them.

The Hottentots are a very stupid and brutal people. They rub their bodies all over with rancid grease, which gives them a very bad smell, so that you may nose them at a considerable distance. Their children are all born perfectly white; but being constantly rubbed with grease, and exposed to the sun, they grow by degrees quite brown, and almost black. When a woman brings forth twins, one of them is immediately condemned to death, and is tied to a tree, where it is left to expire. Some of them have a custom of extirpating one testicle in their male children, as soon as they are able to bear the operation, in hope of preventing them afterwards from begetting twins. They seem to have little or no religion; yet they frequently look with admiration at the heavenly bodies, saying, "He who governs these is certainly a being of infinite power and wisdom." In many respects they

they are more like beasts than men, being abominably nasty in their persons, and, taking them altogether, they are certainly one of the meanest nations on the face of the earth. They are short and thick-set, with flat noses like a Dutch pug dog, very thick lips, and large mouths, having very white teeth, but very long and ill set, some of them sticking out of their mouths like boar's tusks. Their hair is black, and curled like wool. They are very nimble, and run with incredible speed. They are generally covered with a sheep's skin, each man having a quiver full of arrows on his back, and a bow in his hand. Immediately on coming in sight of an enemy, they set up a dreadful cry, leaping, dancing, and skipping about, and throwing themselves into the most frightful postures.

The seventh nation is named the *Caffres*, who are certainly the *Anthropophagi* who have made so much noise in the world.[3] The Hottentots are much afraid of them, and take care to keep out of their way as much as possible, for fear of being roasted or boiled if taken prisoners. This abominable nation has never entered into any kind of commerce with the Christians; but, on the contrary, takes all the pains they can to entrap and murder them, in order, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is reported that they have grown somewhat more tractable of late years, and will enter into some sort of trade with such as venture among them. They are a potent and warlike nation, strong and well-made; and though black, and having curled hair like other negroes, they have better faces, and a much more manly appearance.

At the distance of about eighteen leagues from the Cape, there is another port called Saldanha Bay, which is, in all respects, an infinitely better harbour than Table Bay, except in wanting fresh water, which prevents it from being frequented. The animals of this country are many. The lion is common here, and in hard winters often comes very near the habitations of the colonists. He is reputed the king of beasts, because he never eats a man till he has beaten out his breath with his paws. Before attacking a man he roars terribly, and shakes his mane; and if he does not give these signals of rage, there is no danger in passing him. Tigers and

[3] A very different account is now given of the Caffres, or Koussis rather, who are described as a half-civilized race, who cultivate the ground, and live under regular government.—E.

and leopards are also very common, and do a vast deal of mischief; and it is probable these animals would be much more numerous, were it not for a race of wild dogs, which hunt in packs, and are so bold that they often weary out and worry a lion. They often destroy tigers, leopards, and wolves, and it is said that they will allow a man to take their prey from them when they have killed it. Travellers are never afraid when they fall in with these wild dogs, but rather rejoice, because they are sure that no ferocious animal is in the neighbourhood. There are many elephants in this country, and of as great size as any in the world, being often from twelve to fifteen feet high or better, their teeth weighing from sixty to an hundred and twenty pounds. The rhinoceros is also often met with. This animal is rather less than the elephant, but stronger. His skin is prodigiously thick, and so hard that scarcely any weapon can pierce it. His snout is like that of a hog, on which grows a solid horn, ten or twelve inches long, which is much valued, because esteemed an excellent medicine in convulsions.

There are two animals peculiar to this country, which therefore deserve notice. One is a species of wild ass, which resembles the common ass in nothing but the length of its ears. It is as large as an ordinary horse, and is the most beautiful animal in the world. His hair is very soft, and from the ridge of the back descends in coloured streaks to the belly, forming so many circles. It is a brisk and lively creature, which runs more swiftly than any horse. It is very difficult to take alive, and when taken cannot be tamed; yet sells at a prodigious price, and is thought a fit present for a sovereign prince, from its rarity and exquisite beauty.[4] The other creature, found in no other country, is called by the Dutch the *Stinkbungsen*, or Stinking-Badger. This is of the size of an ordinary dog, but is shaped like a ferret. When pursued by man or beast, it retreats but slowly, and when its enemy draws near, discharges backwards a so intolerably fetid wind, that dogs tear up the ground and hide their noses in it, to avoid the smell. When killed, it stinks so abominably that there is no approaching the carcass, which is therefore left to consume where it falls.

It

[4] This is a very imperfect account of the Zebra, which exactly resembles the ass, except in colour, and is by no means larger. One died lately in Edinburgh, after being exhibited as a show, which was as quiet and gentle as any lady's donkey.—E.

It is impossible to describe all the creatures that are seen in the vast forests of Africa, as the inhabitants see new animals every year that are utterly unknown to them. They allege that, in the middle of summer, when the wild animals are almost raging mad with thirst, they resort in vast multitudes to the rivers named Salt, Elephants, and St John's rivers, where the males and females of different species intermixing, produce strange beasts that seem to be new species. The Hottentots in the service of the Company frequently carry the skins of these monsters to the governor; and our author assures us that he saw one of the following description, that had been killed not long before. It was about the size of a calf of six months old, and seemed to have had four eyes. The head resembled that of a lion, but the hair was quite smooth, and of a dark grey colour. It had tusks like a boar. The fore-feet resembled those of that creature; but the hind-feet were like those of a tiger.

The birds of this country are in a manner infinite in numbers and sorts; and though they have not been observed often to intermingle species, yet hybrids are sometimes remarked among them. The largest and strongest birds are to be found in Africa, among which is the ostrich, the largest of all, being commonly seven feet high. The beak is short and pointed, but the neck is very long. The feathers of the male are white and black only, while those of the female are mixed white, black, and grey. Those of the former are most esteemed, as their large feathers are better spread, and their down much softer. This bird is prodigiously swift of foot, and is hunted down by hounds. Their wings do not serve them to fly, but assist them in running, especially when they have the wind with them. The common opinion of their being able to digest iron is totally false. They swallow pieces of iron indeed, but then it is only to bruise the food in their gizzards, just as other birds swallow stones for the same purpose. They are also said to leave their eggs uncovered on the sand, and to take no care of their young. But those of the Cape country hide their eggs in the sand, and are so tender of their young, that, though naturally timorous, if one of them is missing, they become quite furious, so that it is not safe to go near them. There are abundance of eagles of all sorts at the Cape, which are very bold, and frequently do a great deal of mischief. They are not very large, yet are incredibly strong, so that they often kill and devour cattle when

returning

returning home from work, when they come in great flocks of fifty or an hundred at once, single out a beast as it feeds among the flock, and falling upon it all at once, kill and devour it.

Some years before our author was at the Cape, there was seen on Table Mountain a bird as large in the body as a horse, having grey and black plumage. His beak and talons were like those of an eagle, but of a most dreadful size. He sat and hovered about that mountain for a long time, and the people were persuaded it was a griffin. It frequently carried off sheep and calves, and at length began to destroy the cows, on which orders were given to destroy it, and it was accordingly shot, its skin stuffed, and sent home as a curiosity to the Company. No such bird has been seen since, and the oldest people of the colony do not remember to have heard of any such before.[5]

Africa has been long famous for serpents, and there are such vast numbers of them in the neighbourhood of the Cape, that many of them have no names. Most of them are extremely venomous, and the colonists would suffer much more than they do from them, were it not that they have a specific remedy for their bites, not known in Europe. This remedy is the *serpent-stone*, allowed to be factitious, and is brought from India, where they are made by the bramins who have the secret of composing them, which they so carefully conceal, that no Europeans have hitherto been able to discover how they are made. The serpent-stone is about the size of a bean, white in the middle, but of a fine sky-blue on the outside. When a person is bitten by a serpent, this stone is applied to the wound, to which it soon sticks fast of itself, without the aid of any bandage or plaister. The part bitten begins immediately to swell and becomes inflamed. The stone also swells till it becomes full of the venom, and then drops off. It is then put into warm milk, where it soon purges itself from the venom, and resumes its natural colour, after which it is again applied to the wound, where it sticks as before, till a second time full, and so on till all the venom is extracted and the cure perfected.

All the mountains of this vast country are full of minerals and crystal, with many things of great value, if they could be got

[5] This was probably a stray Condor, and its size an ordinary exaggeration, in the passage of the story, like that of *the three black crows*.—E.

got at; but the natives are so fearful of being made slaves in the mines, that they take all imaginable pains to conceal them. There is particularly a mountain, about 500 leagues from the Cape, called *Copper-mountain*, which is supposed to contain great quantities of metals. Large quantities of copper have been found here, which is said to contain a mixture of gold. Some Europeans endeavoured to follow the natives, who were suspected of going to that mountain to gather gold, but were all massacred. The Company is so tender of the colonists, and so unwilling to risk a revolt, that they have even neglected a gold-mine much nearer the Cape, the marcasites of which gave great hopes of its containing abundance of gold. Perhaps the Company may have another reason for acting in this manner, lest, if a gold-mine was discovered at the Cape, it might tempt the French or English to undertake something to their prejudice. Under its present management, the Dutch colony at the Cape is a general advantage to other nations, as well as to the Dutch. A few years ago a cavern was discovered in a mountain very near Cape-Town, in which the Hottentots find the venom in which they dip their poisoned arrows. There have likewise been found about twenty leagues from the Cape, some hot springs impregnated with steel, which have been found to cure many diseases, by using as a bath.

Considerable improvements may certainly be made on this colony, for the advantage both of the inhabitants and the company, which latter make no great gains by this establishment besides the convenience it affords in giving refreshments to their ships going to and returning from India. The Company would be glad of any means that might increase the value of the settlement, consistent with their maxims of government, and with that indulgence they find it necessary to shew the Hottentots, who are perhaps more tenacious of their liberty than any people on earth, and the most desperate in resenting any attempts to its prejudice.

SECTION XVII.

Voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, with some Account of St Helena, the Island of Ascension, and the Acores.

TOWARDS the end of March, 1723, the ship being revictualled, they sailed from Table-bay with a brisk wind at S.E. the fleet homewards bound consisting of twenty-three sail, mostly belonging to the Dutch East India Company. In about three weeks they reached the island of *St Helena*, which is in the latitude of 16° 15′ S. [lat. 16° S. long. 5° 30′ W.] This island is about seven leagues in circumference, and is entirely composed of rocky hills, which may be seen in a clear day from the distance of forty leagues. It is surprising to see so small an island in the midst of the ocean, at so great a distance from any other land, being 550 leagues from the Cape, 500 leagues from Brazil, and 350 from Augusta, which is the nearest land;[1] yet the sea is all around so very deep, that there is hardly an anchorage to be found. This island was first discovered by the Portuguese, on which occasion one of their large Indian carracks was wrecked, from the remains of which they built a chapel, long since decayed, but which still gives name to the finest valley in the island. They planted lemons, oranges, and pomegranates all over the island, and left here hogs and goats, together with partridges, pigeons, and peacocks, for the convenience of ships touching here. At one time a hermit chose to live here, killing the goats for the sake of their skins, which he sold to ships that stopped here; but the Portuguese removed him, as they did afterwards some negro slaves who had settled in the mountains. It is now possessed by the English, who have so good a fort that it is not likely any other nation should be able to drive them out. The vallies are exceedingly beautiful and fertile, and in these the weather is sometimes exceedingly hot; but as it is always cool on the mountains, the inhabitants can never be in want of a place of refreshment. It is admirably watered, having many rivulets running

[1] Caleo Negro, in lat. 16° 20′ S. on the coast of Africa, is the nearest part of the continent, and is probably what is referred to in the text under the name of Augusta.—E.

ning from the tops of the hills into the sea, the water of these being as clear as crystal. The island produces abundance of mustard, parsley, sorrel, cresses, and other herbs, excellent against the scurvy. It has also abundance of trees fit for fuel, but none that can serve as timber. All sorts of refreshments are to be had in plenty.

They sailed from hence for the island of *Ascension,* which lies in lat. 8° N. and long. 14° 20′ W. about 200 leagues N. W. from St Helena. This is much of the same size, but the shore is excessively rocky, and the whole island absolutely barren, having neither trees nor grass, and the entire surface seems as it were rent asunder, whence some have conceived, and not without great show of reason, that it had been formerly a volcano, or burning mountain. In the middle of the island there is a high hill, on one side of which water has been found. At one season of the year, the whole surface of the island is covered with sea-fowl. What chiefly induces ships to put into the only harbour of the island, is the great plenty of excellent turtle to be found here. When these animals come on shore in the night to lay their eggs, the sailors turn them over on their backs till they have leisure to carry them on board. These creatures will live above a month without any kind of sustenance, having only a little salt water sprinkled over them three or four times a-day. The sailors never weary of eating them, believing that they make a perfect change of their juices, freeing them entirely from the scurvy and other diseases of the blood.

As this island is a very miserable place to live in, it is common to leave malefactors here when they do not incline to put them to death. This was done not long before our author passed this way, to a Dutch book-keeper, who was convicted of sodomy; though perhaps this may be considered as a worse punishment even than death, considering the miseries that must be endured in the hottest climate of the world, on a place that does not afford even the slightest shelter. After leaving this island, they began to approach the line, which they crossed without feeling any excessive heat, as the sun was then towards the north, and they had the benefit of pretty fresh gales, which moderated the heat extremely. They now also began to see the north-star at night, which they had not done for a year and a half, and it is impossible to express how much the seamen were rejoiced at this circumstance.

Coming into the latitude of 18° N. we found that part of the sea which is generally so covered with grass that it looks at a distance like a meadow. This grass has a yellowish cast, being hollow within, and on being pressed it yields a clammy viscous juice. In some years none of this grass appears, while in other years it is found in prodigious quantities. Some imagine that it comes from the bottom of the sea, as divers report that the bottom is in many places covered with grass and flowers. Others conceive that it comes from the coast of Africa: But our author disapproves both of these opinions, because, if it came from the bottom, there is no reason why the same appearance should not be found elsewhere; whereas, if it came from the coast of Africa, it ought to be found in other situations, especially near that coast. His opinion, therefore, is, that it comes from the coast of America, and particularly from the Gulf of Bahama or Mexico, where it is known to grow in great abundance, and where, when it comes to maturity, it breaks off, and is carried away by the currents.[2]

Nothing is more difficult than to account for the motion and course of currents in the ocean, which, in some places, run for six months in one direction, and six in another, while in other places they run always one way. There are instances also where they run one way for a day or two after full moon, and then run strongly in the opposite direction till next full moon. Seamen also observe, that in places where the trade-winds blow, the currents are generally influenced by them, moving the same way with the winds, but not with equal force in all places; neither are they so discernible in the wide ocean, but chiefly about islands, where their effects are more or less felt according as they are influenced by being more or less in the way of the trade-winds. It would be of great service to navigation if sensible men would take notice of these currents, and enquire into the reason of their appearances. In old books of voyages we find many more wonders than in those of later date, not because the course of nature is at all changed, but because nature was not then so well understood. A thousand things were prodigious a century ago, which are not now at all strange. Thus the storms at

[2] In the old Portuguese maps and voyages, this part of the Atlantic is called *Mar de Sargasso,* or the *Sea of Cresses;* Sargasso signifying water-cresses, which these weeds which spread over the sea nearly resemble.—*Harris.*

at the Cape of Good Hope, which make so great a figure in the histories of the Portuguese discoveries, are now known to have been merely the effect of endeavouring to double that Cape at a wrong season of the year.

In the East and West Indies, the natives are able to foretell hurricanes and tornadoes, not from any superior skill, but by observing certain signs which usually precede them. There is often so little apparent connection between the sign and the event, that men who value themselves on their wisdom are apt to slight such warnings as impertinent and absurd. But they had better enquire diligently into facts, and neither receive nor reject them too hastily. In the present case, it is a clear matter of fact that the sea, in the latitude of 18° N. between Africa and America, is frequently covered with weeds to a great extent, and there is good reason for enquiry as to whence these weeds come. In the first voyage made by the famous Columbus for the discovery of the new world, he met with this grass or sea-weed floating on the sea, without which he could not have prevailed on his sailors to continue the voyage; and it is very remarkable, that, by pursuing his course through these weeds, he arrived in the Gulf of Bahama, the place whence our present author supposes this sea-grass to come.[3]

Continuing their course to the north, they encountered hard gales of wind, by which they were driven into lat. 37° N. where they fell in with two islands, which proved to be *Flores* and *Corres;*[4] and as their fresh provisions were now nearly spent, they stopped three days at the larger island to procure refreshments. There are two of the islands named *Açores* by the Spaniards, which signifies the *islands of hawks.* The Dutch call them *Vlanneische eslanders,* or *Flemish islands,* because Fayal was first peopled by Flemings, and their descendants remain in the island to this day, and are easily distinguished from the other inhabitants by their shape and air. They dwell upon a little river running down a mountain, called *Ribera dos Flamenas* by the Portuguese, or river of the Flemings.

The nine islands of the Açores, or Wester Islands, are Tercera, San Michael, Santa Maria, St George, Gratiosa, Pico,

[3] In his first voyage, Columbus kept the parallel of about 27° N. but was considerably farther south in his subsequent voyage.—E.

[4] Flores is in lat. 39° 10′, Corvo in 39° 35′, both N.

Pico, Fayal, Corvo, and Flores. Tercera is the chief island, being fifteen or sixteen leagues in circumference, and so high and steep in many places that it is almost impregnable, and they have built forts in such places as are accessible. The only port is before the capital, named *Angra*, and as it is in the form of a half-moon, it is called the *Half-Moon of Angra*. At each horn of this half-moon there is a mountain, which are called the Brazils, which project out into the sea, appearing from a distance as if two islands; and these mountains are so high that one may see at any time ten or twelve leagues off, and fifteen in clear weather. Angra has a fine cathedral, and is the residence of a bishop, and of a governor and council, whose authority extends over all the nine islands. There is another town three leagues from Angra, called Praya, or the town of the shore, situated on a shore which cannot be approached by ships, so that it has no trade, and the town seems a kind of desert, though well built and walled round.

The inhabitants raise sufficient provisions on the island for all their wants, being pleasant and fertile, and all covered with corn-fields; and so abounds with flesh, fish, and all sorts of victuals, that even in times of the greatest scarcity, there is enough for all the inhabitants. It produces wine also, but very small, and does not keep well, wherefore the richer people provide themselves from Madeira and the Canaries. They want oil, salt, lime, and potters ware, which they have to import from other countries. They have abundance of peaches, apples, pears, oranges, and lemons, with all sorts of vegetables and garden stuffs, and among these a plant called *batatas*, which grows like a vine stock, but the leaves are different. These produce roots, weighing a pound more or less, and are so plentiful that they are despised by the rich, though of a sweet pleasant taste and very nourishing. There is another root in this country as large as a man's two fists, covered over with filaments of a golden yellow colour, and as smooth as silk. The inhabitants stuff beds with this instead of feathers, but skilful workmen could certainly manufacture it into fine stuffs.

There are but few birds, except canaries, quails, ordinary poultry, and turkies, which are numerous. Several parts of this island are very hilly, and full of thick and almost impervious woods; and travelling is rendered very difficult, as you often find rocks a league in length, so rugged and sharp that they

they cut the shoes at every step; yet these rocks are so full of vines that they are not to be seen in summer, being covered over by the vine leaves. These vines spread their roots among the crannies and crevices of the rocks, which are so small and devoid of soil, that it is wonderful how they should find any nourishment; yet if planted in the good soil of the country, the vines will not grow. The corn and fruits of this island will not keep above a year; and unless the corn is buried under ground, it spoils in four months. On this account, every inhabitant has a pit without the town, the mouth of which is round, just large enough to admit a man, which is covered by a flat stone and secured by a lock. Some of these pits are so large as to contain two or three lasts of corn, the last containing 108 bushels Amsterdam measure, and each bushel weighing forty pounds or more. They put their corn into these pits in July, and cover the stone with earth to exclude the air, and take it out at Christmas, or considerably later, finding it then as good as when put in. The oxen in Tercera are the largest and finest that can be, equal to any in Europe, and have prodigiously wide horns. Every one has his name, like our dogs, and they are so familiar, that when the master calls one of them by his name, though among a thousand others, he will presently come to him.

One would think the ground of this island were hollow, as the rocks sound like vaults when walked on; and indeed the thing is not at all improbable, as the island is much subject to earthquakes. In many places of the island of San Michael there are holes and cracks, out of which there comes a great smoke, and the ground seems as if burnt all around. This is not uncommon also in all the islands, as they all have sulphur mountains. There are also fountains of water so hot as to boil eggs. Three leagues from Angra there is a petrifying spring, which changes wood into stone; and there was formerly a tree having some of its roots in that water, which were stony and as hard as flint. This island produces excellent timber, especially cedar, which is so common that their carts and waggons are made of it, and it is even used as fuel. The island of *Pico*, twelve leagues from Tercera, has a sort of wood called *teixo*, as hard as iron, and of a shining red colour when wrought. It becomes always better and finer as it grows older; for which reason no person is allowed to cut any of these trees, unless for the king's use,

and by virtue of a special order from the royal officers. The chief trade of Tercera consists in *woad*, of which they have great quantities. The fleets of Spain and Portugal, bound for the East Indies, Brazil, Cape Verd, Guinea, and other countries, usually come here for refreshments, to the great profit of this and the other islands, the inhabitants selling to them their various articles at good prices.

The island of *San Michael* is seven or eight leagues S.E. of Tercera, and is about twenty leagues in length, having several towns and villages. The capital of this island is *Ponta del Guda*, which drives a considerable trade in *woad*, sent to Tercera, producing about 200,000 quintals [5] every year. This island also produces such abundance of corn, that it is transported to the other islands; but it has no harbours or rivers to give shelter to ships.

Santa Maria, twelve leagues S. of San Michael, is ten or twelve leagues in circumference, its only trade being in earthen ware, with which the inhabitants supply the other islands. It also produces plenty of all manner of provisions for its own inhabitants. The island of *Gratiosa*, seven or eight leagues N.N.W. of Tercera, is only about five or six leagues in circumference, but abounds in provisions of all sorts. *St George*, eight or nine leagues N.W. of Tercera, is twelve leagues in length by two or three in breadth. This is a wild mountainous country, producing very little woad. The inhabitants subsist by cultivating the ground and keeping cattle, and export considerable quantities of cedar to Tercera. *Fayal*, seven German leagues S.S.W. of St George, is seventeen or eighteen leagues in circumference, and is the best of the Açores, after Tercera and San Michael. This island has plenty of woad, with abundance of fish, cattle, and other commodities, which are exported to Tercera and the other islands. Its chief town is called *Villa Dorta*. Most of the inhabitants of this island are descended from Flemings, but now speak the Portuguese language; yet they continue to love the Flemings, and use all strangers kindly.

Three leagues S.E. of Fayal is the island of *Pico*, so called from a peaked mountain, which some believe to be higher than the Peak of Teneriffe. The inhabitants cultivate the soil, and have plenty of cattle and other provisions, growing also

[5] This is perhaps an error for 2000, as the larger quantity would amount to 10,000 tons.—E.

also better wine than in any other island of the Açores. This island is about fifteen leagues in circumference. Seventy leagues W.N.W. from Tercera is the island of *Flores*, and to the N. of it lies *Corvo*, the former about seven, and the latter not above two or three leagues in circumference. They both produce woad, especially Flores, which also abounds in provisions. The winds at all these islands are so strong, and the air so piercing, especially at Tercera, that they in a short time spoil and consume the stones of the houses, and even iron.[6] They have a kind of stone, however, that is found within high-water mark, which resists the air better than the other sorts, and of which the fronts of their houses are generally built.

Leaving the Açores, and getting into Spanish sea, or mouth of the bay of Biscay, the weather proved so bad that the *Advice-ship* lost her rudder, which obliged her to go through the Channel in order to purchase a new one on the coast of England. The French, Danish, and other ships, generally go that way; but the Dutch ships generally go round Ireland and north about, from an idea, if they should happen to meet with stormy weather in the channel, so as to be obliged to go into an English port, that this might occasion several inconveniences. Such ships, however, as have sustained any damage at sea, are permitted to take their way through the channel. The rest of the Dutch fleet followed the north-about course; and after three weeks, during which they were involved in perpetual mists and fogs, they had sight at length of the Orkney islands, where some Dutch ships were still engaged in the herring fishery. In the latitude of 60° N. they met some ships of war that waited for them, and convoyed them to the coast of Holland, where all the ships got into their destined ports in safety. Those on board of which were our author, and the other prisoners, came into the Texel on the 11th of July, 1723; and arrived five days afterwards at Amsterdam, the very same day two years after sailing on their voyage.

The

[6] This effect on the iron is obviously occasioned by the muriatic acid in the sea spray; and were it not that the author expressly says they have no lime, one would be apt to believe that the stones so affected were limestone. There are, however, some cilicious sand-stones, in which the grit, or particles of sand, are cemented together by a calcareous infiltration, which may be the case in these islands.—E.

The West-India Company immediately commenced a law-suit against the East-India Company, in behalf of themselves and all the persons engaged in their service in the foregoing voyage, to obtain satisfaction for the injury and injustice done them at Batavia. After a long litigation, the States-General decreed, that the East-India Company should furnish the West-India Company with two new ships, completely fitted for sea in every respect, better than those which had been confiscated by their officers in India, and should pay the full value of their cargoes. Also, that the East-India Company should pay the wages of the crews of both ships, up to the day of their landing in Holland: Together with the entire costs of suit; besides a considerable sum by way of fine, as a punishment for having abused their authority so egregiously.[7]

[7] Harris has given a report of this law-suit at some length, but it did not seem necessary to give any more than the result, as quite uninteresting at the present day.—E.

CHAPTER XIV.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY CAPTAIN GEORGE ANSON, IN THE YEARS 1740-1744.[1]

PREFACE.

THOUGH of considerable length, the importance of this narrative forbids all attempts to alter it in any respect; except that it has been necessary to leave out the explanations of several engraved views of coasts and harbours, inserted in the original, but which were greatly too large for admission, and would have been rendered totally useless by being reduced to any convenient size for the octavo form of this collection. Indeed, to have introduced all the engravings of plans and views, necessary for the illustration of this and many other voyages and travels, would have been utterly incompatible with the nature and circumstances of this work; as nothing less than a complete Atlas and entire Neptune of the whole globe could have sufficed, attended by an enormous expence, and at the same time inadmissible into octavo volumes. It has therefore been indispensably requisite, on all occasions, to confine our illustrations of that kind to a few reduced charts, merely sufficient to convey general notions of geographical circumstances, and occasionally sketch plans of harbours, straits, islands, and capes, explanatory of particular and important places. Such of our readers, therefore, as require more complete illustrations of geography, topography, and hydrography, must have recourse to Atlasses, Neptunes, and coasting pilots.

This narrative was originally published under the name of Richard Walter, chaplain to H. M. S. Centurion in the expedition, dedicated by him to John Duke of Bedford, and said to have been compiled by that gentleman from papers and materials furnished for the purpose by Commodore Anson.

As the object of this expedition was of an extensive poli-tical

[1] Voyage, &c. by George Anson, Esq. afterwards Lord Anson; compiled from his papers and materials by Richard Walter, M.A. chaplain of H. M. S. Centurion in that expedition—*fifteenth edition*, 4to, Lond. 1776.

tical nature, intended to humble the power of Spain, in her most valuable yet most vulnerable possessions, by injuring and intercepting the great source of her public treasure, it has been thought proper, on the present occasion, to give a transcript of the reflections made upon the policy and expedience of this important voyage, very soon after its completion, by Dr John Harris, by way of *Introduction* to his abridged account of this circumnavigation, in his Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. i. p. 337.

"It is a thing that has been generally taken for granted, ever since Spain has been possessed of her American dominions, and has made use of the riches derived from these to disturb the peace and invade the liberties of her neighbours, that the best way to reduce her strength, and to prevent the bad effects of her evil intentions, would be to attack her in the South Seas. This was pursued with great diligence, and in some measure with success, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, [as has been already shewn in the circumnavigatory voyages of Drake and Candish, almost solely devoted to that object.] In that of her successor, when a new quarrel broke out with that crown, in the year 1624, the first thing thought of by our patriots, who were equally willing to humble the king's enemies and to save the money of the nation, was an expedition to the South Seas, to be carried on at the expence of, and for the benefit of the people; which scheme was entitled *The West-India Association.*

"It may be thought I look a great way back when I offer to the view of the reader the reasons which were then suggested in parliament in support of that scheme. But whoever considers that it is not only the most effectual, but the safest method, to instruct the present age from the sentiments of the last, will readily enter into the reasons which induce me, upon this occasion, to produce the speech of an eminent patriot, in which the nature and scope of that *Association*, as well as the motives on which it is grounded, are very fully and pathetically set forth; and this in such terms, as, if the reader were not told that this was a speech to Sir Dudley Diggs, then chairman of a committee of the whole house, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, he might mistake it for a speech made only a few years since, so agreeable is it, in language and sentiments, even to our present occasions.

"SIR,—I do profess that as my affections, my reason, and my

my judgement go strongly with the scope and drift of this proposition, so shall good part of my fortune when it comes to execution. For, to my understanding, there was never propounded in parliament a design more proper for this kingdom, nor more pregnant with advantages to it, whether we consider the nature of our situation or the quality of our enemy's forces. As we are an island, it concerns our very being to have store of ships to defend us, and also our well-being by their trade to enrich us. This Association for the West Indies, when it shall be regulated and established by act of parliament, and thereby secured from the violence and injury of any intruding hand, will certainly give many men encouragement and confidence voluntarily to bring in large and liberal contributions towards so noble and so profitable an enterprize; so that, in short, we shall see many new ships built, many brave men employed, and enabled to act for the service of their country. None of this money shall be carried out of the kingdom, but laid out in shipping, which is the defence of it, and bestowed upon our own men, who must be fed and maintained though they stay at home. For this, we shall reap the fruit of whatsoever benefit plantation, traffic, or purchase can procure us, besides honour and security.

"Now, let us a little consider the enemy we have to encounter, the king of Spain. They are not his great territories which make him so powerful and so troublesome to all Christendom. For it is very well known that Spain itself is but weak in men, and barren of natural commodities, and as for his other territories, they lie divided and asunder, which is a weakness in itself. Besides, they are held by force, and maintained at an extraordinary charge; insomuch, as although he be a great king, yet he is like that giant who was said to have an hundred hands, but had fifty bellies to feed, so that, rateably, he had no more hands than another man. No, sir, they are his mines in the West Indies which minister fuel to feed his ambitious desire of universal monarchy. It is the money he hath from thence which makes him able to levy and pay soldiers in all places, and to keep an army on foot ready to invade and endanger his neighbours, so that we have no other way but to endeavour to cut him off at the root, and seek to impeach or to supplant him in the West Indies; by part of which course that famous queen, of glorious memory, had heretofore almost brought him to his knees. And this our undertaking, if it pleases God to bless

 it,

it, must needs affect it sooner and quicker, the whole body of the kingdom being united, and concurring in a perpetual supply to this action, so that he shall have no free time given him to rest.

"Moreover, this will be a means not only to save, but to fill his majesty's coffers, enabling the people to give him liberally and often. The king's ships will have little to do but to guard the coasts; for the sea-war will be chiefly made at the charge of the subjects. This I doubt not but that, in a short time, both king and people shall be safe at home, and feared abroad. To conclude, I shall be very glad to hear any man make objection against this design, so that he do so with an intention to refine and perfect the work; but if any shall speak against it with a mind to hinder and destroy it, I must entreat him to pardon me, if I do scarce think him to be a good Englishman.

"That project of the West India Association had the same fate with most other bold and honest projects in that reign, which was, after being talked of a little, it sunk into oblivion. Our next difference with Spain was under the protectorate of Cromwell, who encouraged Father Gage to publish his account of the Spanish West Indies, which formed the foundation of his attempt upon Hispaniola, and conquest of Jamaica; but I do not know of any design formed by him to attack the Spaniards in the South Seas. After the Restoration we were upon good terms with Spain, as certainly was our interest. Yet Charles II. did not absolutely neglect this navigation, but sent Sir John Marborough, one of the best seamen this nation ever bred, in the Sweepstakes, in the latter end of the year 1669, by way of the Straits of Magellan, into the South Seas. To say the truth, our privateers, under the command of Captains Sharpe, Davis, Swan, &c. were continually in these seas, during all that reign and the next; so that, in those days, our seamen were no strangers to any of the passages into the South Seas; and, as the reader may have already observed, from the voyage of Captain Cowley, it was then no unusual thing for the traders of London to fit out ships for these parts, but whether with a view to traffic or privateering, is a point not easy to determine at this distance of time. But whatever the purpose they were sent upon, thither they went, and no complaints were ever heard of with respect to extraordinary hardships in the voyage, which is sufficient to shew how much depends upon keeping all branches of navigation open, in

in order to be constantly in a condition to secure and extend our trade, and to preserve our reputation as a maritime power.

"After the Revolution, several proposals were made in relation to the establishment of a commerce in the South Sea, which were received with approbation; and it is certain that king William gave instructions to Admiral Benbow, when he went out last to the West Indies, to enquire how far any of these projects were feasible. After the breaking out of the last general war, all the world expected that the first thing the maritime powers would have done, would have been sending a squadron to these seas, either for the service of the prince whom they owned as king of Spain, or for their own advantage. The people of this nation, in particular, were so desirous of seeing the war carried on this way, and on this side, that, to give them hopes, and to shew, at the same time, that the legislature approved their sentiments, a bill was brought in and passed, in the House of Lords, for the better carrying on the war in the West Indies, which was lost, however, by a kind of ministerial craft, in the House of Commons; and soon after, for reasons which have never yet been explained to the public, all designs of this nature were laid aside. The only expedition of this nature, during the whole war, was that of the Duke and Duchess, under the command of Captain Woods Rogers, already related, which was fitted out at the expence of some private merchants of Bristol. On the change of ministry, a prodigious clamour was raised on this head, and all of a sudden a resolution was taken to secure all the advantages that could be wished for to this nation from the trade of the South Seas, which ended, however, only in erecting a company under that title. The nation very soon became sensible that this would not do, and therefore, as soon as our disputes with the king of Spain came to a height, in the reign of the late king, George I. a design was immediately set on foot for sending privateers once more into that part of the world, which ended in the expedition of Captain Shelvocke and Captain Clipperton, already related at large.

"By this short deduction of facts, I think it is demonstrably proved, that, in the judgement of this nation, the most probable way of humbling Spain, in case of a war, is to send a squadron into the South Seas, and I will venture to say, that there is one reason why this is now become more expedient

expedient than ever, which is, that we are now no longer at liberty to send ships thither in time of peace, as we were before the South Sea Company was erected. It is not therefore at all strange, that as soon as the present war broke out with Spain, the general voice of the nation dictated such an expedition, or that, when they saw it resolved on, and a squadron actually equipped for that service, they very loudly testified their approbation of the scheme. I believe also, my readers will readily give credit to the assertion, when I affirm, that, during the time this squadron lay at Portsmouth, there was a more general expectation of its performing things of the highest consequence for the service of Great Britain, and reducing the enemy to reason.

"It was in the midst of summer, in the year 1740, that this squadron was formed at Portsmouth, at the same time that a great embarkation was preparing for the West Indies, by which the siege of Carthagena was afterwards undertaken, which turned the eyes of the whole world upon that sea-port. At London, every person spoke of the intended expedition to the South Seas as a design that must necessarily be attended with highly advantageous consequences, if properly conducted; and of this there was not made the least doubt, when it was known that Captain Anson was named to the command, because he had shewn himself upon all occasions equally vigilant in his duty, and moderate in the exercise of power, more ready to correct by his own example than by any other sort of reproof, and who, in the course of his services, had acquired the respect of the officers, and the love of the sailors; qualities that rarely meet in one person, and qualities which, without the least contradiction, were ascribed to him.[a]

"Though this expedition was not attended by so great success in the South Seas as was expected, yet the nation in general was far from believing that its comparative failure ought to deter us from the thoughts of such expeditions for the future, since it plainly appeared, that, if the whole squadron had got round along with the commodore into the South Seas,

[a] The sequel of these observations, by Harris, are extracted from his supplementary reflections at the close of the expedition, vol. I. p. 364, *et sequ.* In these, however, we have used much retrenchment, as the observations that may have been exceedingly applicable in 1745, when Spain was in a great manner identified with France, have now lost much of their force, in consequence of the passing events, well known to all, but which do not admit of being discussed in a note.—E.

Seas, he would have been able to have performed much greater things than any of our commanders had hitherto done in these parts. Neither is it at all clear that the Spaniards are there in a better condition, their coasts better fortified, their garrisons more numerous, or the country in any respect better provided, than when our privateers had formerly so great success in those parts. The sacking of Payta in this expedition proves the contrary, since it was then actually in a worse condition, and less capable of making any resistance, than when formerly taken by Captain Shelvocke. If this expedition had never taken place, we might have been told that it was impracticable, that the Spaniards were grown wiser, that all their ports were well fortified, and any attempt of this kind would be only to sacrifice the lives of such as might be employed in the expedition. But we now know the contrary, and that the Spaniards remained as unguarded, and as little apprehensive as ever; perhaps even the fate of this expedition may have made them less so, insomuch, that were a new project of the same kind to be put in execution, either at public or private expence, there seems next to a moral certainty that it would succeed. Another expedition might, and probably would be attended by fewer difficulties; at least, it certainly might be undertaken at much less expence; and, besides all the advantages resulting to such private persons as became proprietors, this inestimable advantage would accrue to the public, that we should once more have a number of able marines, well acquainted with the navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other means.

"I would not be understood at all to lessen the miseries and distresses of those who were employed in this voyage; and all I would endeavour to aim at is to convince the reader that the difficulties and discouragements met with in this voyage are not sufficient to ground a decisive opinion by the few in opposition to the sentiments of the many, that all attempts on this side ought to be abandoned. And I really think that the setting the difficulties and discouragements encountered by the Centurion in the strongest light, will serve my purpose much better than lessening or extenuating them. For, if after being ruined in a manner by storms, diseases, and hardships, they landed rather skeletons than men, on the island of Juan Fernandez; if, after their long cruize in the South Seas, their distresses came to be as great when they took shelter in the island of Tinian; if the lying at

at Macao was attended with many inconveniences; if the taking of the Spanish galleon be a thing almost incredible, considering the small number of men, and the condition they were in, who attacked her in the Centurion; if the difficulties they afterwards met with in the river of Canton, and the hazards run by the commodore in visiting the viceroy, and thereby putting himself into the hands of such a people as the Chinese, who could not but be displeased with his proceedings, are circumstances which aggravate the matter: If so perilous a navigation as that from Canton, through the Straits of Sunda, and thence to the Cape of Good Hope, with little or no refreshment, with a crew that wanted it so much, is still more amazing; and if the bringing the ship home from thence, with a crew composed of so many different nations, in the midst of a French war, and without the least assistance from home, swell the whole into a kind of miracle, what does all this prove? Since all this, under God, was entirely owing to the prudence, moderation, and wise conduct of the commanding officer, it certainly proves, if a right choice be made of commanders, that there are no difficulties which may not be overcome, and therefore that the adverse circumstances attending this voyage ought not at all to discourage us.

" For, with the help of the example afforded by Commodore Anson, I presume that there are many officers who would undertake and execute such an expedition, to the honour of their country, and to the advantage of their employers, supposing them to be employed by private persons. This is the right use that might be made of this expedition; an expedition difficult, dangerous, and in a manner impracticable, considered in one light, but equally glorious and successful when considered in another point of view: An expedition that has demonstrated to the whole world that a train of unforeseen and most disastrous accidents may be remedied, and even turned to advantage, by an honest, skilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning officer: An expedition which shews that there are no hazards, no difficulties, no distresses capable of depressing the courage of English seamen under a proper commander; an expedition which makes it evident that discontent, sedition, and mutiny, do not arise from the restless tempers, intractable dispositions, and unruly behaviour of the English sailors, but purely from the want of prudence, and right management, and, in short, from the want of experience and capacity of such as are entrusted with

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the command of them; an expedition, in a word, that puts it beyond all doubt that the British nation is, at this day, as capable of undertaking as great things, and of performing them as successfully, as ever were done by their ancestors; and, consequently, an expedition that must convince not only us, but all Europe, that if our maritime force be not employed in undertakings of the most important nature, it is not owing to the degeneracy of our seamen, nor to be imputed to our want of able or daring commanders, which is not my business, and which indeed surpasses my abilities, to discover.

"We are now to close this general subject of circumnavigations, which relates to the whole world. It is true, that all the circumnavigators did not propose, and that several of them did not make, any discoveries; yet all their voyages are of great, though not of equal importance, down to this last. For, by comparing that by Magellan, which was the first, with this by Mr Anson, we shall find them to differ in many respects, especially in the conclusion; that by Mr Anson being by far the longer of the two. Some of them, also, took quite a different route from others. As, for instance, Le Maire and Roggewein, who never ran at all into the northern latitudes, but sailed directly through the South Seas to the coast of New Guinea, and thence to the island of Java; which is a much shorter course than by way of California to the Philippines. From hence it very clearly appears, that the passage to the East Indies by the South Seas is shorter than that by the Cape of Good Hope;[3] of which the reader will be convinced by considering the following particulars. Captain Woods Rogers, in the Duke, sailed from the coast of Ireland and doubled Cape Horn in four months; and Le Maire sailed from Juan Fernandez to New Guinea and the Moluccas in three months; so that this voyage takes up but seven months in the whole; whereas the Dutch, when the chief emporium of their eastern com-

[3] It is not easy to conceive how Harris should have fallen into this enormous error. To say nothing of the greater length and difficulty of passing round Cape Horn, rather than the Cape of Good Hope, the difference in longitudes is sufficient to establish the absolute contrary of the position in the text. The longitude, for instance, of the island of Ceylon, by the eastern passage, is only 80° E. whereas by the western passage it is 280 W. an excess of 200 degrees. Even Canton in China, is only in 113° E. but in 247° W. an excess of 134 degrees.—E.

merce was fixed at Amboina, thought it a good passage thither from Holland, if performed in ten or eleven months. [4] It is from these stupendous voyages, that not only the greatest discoveries have been made in general geography, but from which all future discoveries must be expected; and therefore this ought to be considered as one of the strongest arguments for encouraging such voyages. [5]—*Harris.*

GEORGE ANSON, the commodore on this expedition, was born in 1697, being the third son of William Anson, Esq. of Shuckborough, in the county of Stafford. Taking an early inclination for the naval service, and after passing through the usual inferior steps, he was appointed second lieutenant of the Hampshire in 1716. He was raised to the rank of master and commander in 1722, and obtained the rank of post captain in 1724, with the command of the Scarborough man-of-war. Between that time and the year 1733, he made three voyages to North Carolina; and having acquired considerable wealth, he appears to have purchased an estate in that colony, where he erected a small town of his own name, which gave the name of Anson County to the surrounding district. In the years 1738 and 1739, he made another voyage to America and the coast of Africa; and, without proceeding to hostilities, removed certain obstructions under which the English trade on the coast of Guinea had suffered from the French.

In the *War of the Merchants*, as it was called by Sir Robert Walpole, which broke out in 1739 between Britain and Spain, Captain Anson was appointed to the command of the expedition, the narrative of which forms the subject of the present chapter. Immediately after his return to England from this circumnavigation, Captain Anson was made rear-admiral of the blue, and shortly afterwards one of the commissaries of the Admiralty. In 1746 he was farther promoted to the rank of Vice-admiral; and in the winter of 1746-7, was

[4] To say nothing of the absurdity of the partial instances adduced, it may be mentioned that, only a few years ago, an English East Indiaman performed the voyage from England to Madras, delivered his outward-bound cargo, took on board a new cargo, and returned to England, all within nine months.—E.

[5] The remaining observations of Harris, supplementary to his abbreviated account of this expedition, have no manner of connection with the subject in hand, and are therefore omitted.

was entrusted with the command of the channel fleet. In May 1747, off Cape Finisterre, he captured six French ships of the line under the command of Admiral Jonquiere, which had been dispatched for the protection of the merchant ships destined for the East and West Indies. On this occasion, when Mons. St George, one of the French captains, surrendered his sword to Admiral Anson, he addressed him in the following terms: *Vous avez vaincu L'Invincible, et La Gloire vous suit.*—"You have defeated the Invincible, and Glory follows you:" alluding to two of the French ships, the Invincible and the Gloire, which had surrendered to him.

For this important service to his king and country, he was created a peer of the realm, by the title of LORD ANSON; and, in 1749, on the death of Admiral Norris, he was appointed Vice-admiral of England. In 1751, he succeeded to Lord Sandwich, as first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty; but, incurring censure for the loss of Minorca, he resigned this situation in 1756. But, having been acquitted of all blame relative to that disgraceful affair, after a parliamentary enquiry, he was reinstated in that high office, which he continued to fill, with honour to himself and advantage to his country, during the remainder of his life. While attending upon the Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, brother to our present queen, to shew him the naval arsenal at Portsmouth, and the fleet which was then about to sail on the expedition against the Havannah, he caught a violent cold, of which he died, at Moor-Park in Hertfordshire, on the 6th of June 1762, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Having no issue by his lady, the daughter of Lord Hardwicke, whom he married in 1748, he left the whole of his property to his brother.

Lord Anson appears to have been remarkable for the coolness and equanimity of his temper. Amid all the dangers and successes of his circumnavigation of the globe, he never expressed any strong emotion, either of sorrow or joy, except when the Centurion hove in sight of Tinian. He was a man of few words, and was even reckoned particularly silent among English seamen, who have never been distinguished for their loquacity. He introduced a rigid discipline into the English navy, somewhat resembling that of the Prussian army; and revived that bold and close method of

fighting,

fighting, within pistol-shot, which had formerly been so successfully employed by Blake and Shovel, and which has fostered that daring courage and irresistible intrepidity in our British seamen, which anticipate and secure success to the most daring and hazardous enterprizes.

In some reflexions, towards the conclusion of Betagh's circumnavigation, Harris,[6] a former editor of a collection of voyages and travels, breaks forth in the following laudatory strain :—

"Happy, happy, for us, that we have still a SEAMAN left, "who has shewn that the race of heroes is not yet extinct "among us, in ADMIRAL ANSON, that great and fortunate "commander; who enjoys the singular felicity, in an age "of sloth, luxury, and corruption, that his *ease* is the re-"sult of his *labour*, his *title* the reward of his *merit*, and that "his *wealth* does *honour* to his country."

How much more happy is it for us in the present day, somewhat more than half a century later, and while every energy is required to the utmost stretch, that we still have a race of transcendent heroes, who have annihilated the navy and trade and colonies of our arch enemy, have vindicated and preserved our glory and freedom and prosperity, and bid fair to restore the honour and independence of the civilized world, threatened with subversion by the modern Attila.—*Ed.*

INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great improvement of navigation within the last two centuries, a voyage round the world is still considered as an enterprize of so very singular a nature, that the public have never failed to be extremely inquisitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended. And, though the amusement expected in these narratives is doubtless one great source of that curiosity with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that, from accounts of this nature, if faithfully executed, the more important purposes of navigation, commerce, and national interest, may be greatly promoted: For every authentic description of foreign coasts and countries will contribute

[6] Harris, Voy. and Trav. I. 253.

tribute to one or more of these great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of these countries, and our ignorance of these coasts; and therefore, a voyage round the world promises a species of information, of all others, the most desirable and interesting; since great part of it is performed in seas with which we are, as yet, but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth; though it is, at the same time, stigmatized for its poverty in the necessaries and conveniences of a civilized life.

These considerations have occasioned the compiling the ensuing work; which, in gratifying the inquisitive disposition of mankind, and contributing to the safety and success of future navigators, and to the extension of our commerce, may doubtless vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public; since, as to the first of these heads, it may well be supposed that the general curiosity hath been strongly excited, by the circumstances of this undertaking already known to the world; for, whether we consider the force of the squadron sent on this service, or the diversified distresses that each single ship was separately involved in, or the uncommon instances of varying fortune which attended the whole enterprize; each of these articles must, I conceive, from its well-known rude outlines, appear worthy of a completer and more finished delineation: And, if this be allowed with respect to the narrative part of the work, there can be no doubt about the more useful and instructive parts, which are almost every where interwoven with it; for I can venture to affirm, without fear of being contradicted on a comparison, that no voyage, hitherto published, furnishes such a number of views of land, soundings, draughts of ports, charts, and other materials, for the improvement of geography and navigation, as are contained in the ensuing volume; which are the more valuable too, as the greatest part of them relate to such islands or coasts as have been hitherto not at all, or erroneously described; and where the want of sufficient and authentic information might occasion future enterprizes to prove abortive, perhaps with the destruction of the ships and men employed therein.

Besides the number and choice of these marine drawings and descriptions, there is another very essential circumstance belonging to them, which much enhances their worth; and that is the great accuracy with which they were executed. I shall

shall express my opinion of them, in this particular, very imperfectly, when I say that they are not exceeded, and perhaps not equalled, by any thing of this nature that hath, as yet, been communicated to the world: For they were not copied from the works of others, or composed at home from imperfect accounts given by incurious and unskilful observers, a practice too frequent in these matters; but the greatest part of them were delineated on the spot, with the utmost exactness, by the direction and under the eye of Mr Anson himself; and where, as is the case in three or four of them, they have been done by less skilful hands, or were found in possession of the enemy, and consequently their justness could be less relied on, I have always taken care to apprize the reader of it, and to put him on his guard against giving entire credit to them; although I doubt not but these less authentic draughts, thus cautiously inserted, are to the full as correct as those which are usually published upon these occasions. For, as actual surveys of roads and harbours, and nice and critical delineations of views of land, take up much time and attention, and require a good degree of skill, both in planning and drawing, those who are defective in industry and ability supply these wants by bold conjectures and fictitious descriptions; and, as they can be no otherwise confuted than by going on the spot, and running the risk of suffering by their misinformation, they have no apprehension of being detected; and therefore, when they intrude their supposititious productions on the public, they make no conscience of boasting, at the same time, with how much skill and care they have been executed. But let not those who are unacquainted with naval affairs imagine, that the impositions of this kind are of an innocent nature; for, as exact views of land are the surest guides to a seaman, on a coast where he has never been before, all fictions, in so interesting a matter, must be attended with numerous dangers, and sometimes with the destruction of those who are thus unhappily deceived.[7]

Besides these draughts of such places as Mr Anson, or the

[7] It must be quite obvious to all who are in the least degree acquainted with the nature of these draughts and views of land, in the nature of a coasting pilot, that it is utterly impossible to reduce them within the compass of an octavo size, and at the same time to render them of the smallest degree of usefulness; while large plates must have been necessary, and speedily destroyed by opening and refolding.—E.

the ships which he commanded, have touched at in the course of this expedition, and the descriptions and directions relating thereto, there is inserted, in the ensuing work, an ample account, with a chart annexed to it, of a particular navigation, of which hitherto little more than the name has been known, except to those immediately employed in it: I mean the tract described by the Manilla ship, in her passage to Acapulco, through the northern part of the Pacific-ocean. This material article is collected from the draughts and journals met with on board the Manilla galleon, founded on the experience of more than an hundred and fifty years practice, and corroborated in its principal circumstances by the concurrent evidence of all the Spanish prisoners taken in that vessel. And as many of their journals, which I have examined, appear to have been not ill kept, I presume the chart of that northern ocean, and the particulars of their routes through it, may be very safely relied on by future navigators. The advantages which may be drawn from an exact knowledge of this navigation, and the beneficial projects which may be formed thereon, both in war and peace, are by no means proper to be discussed in this place; but they will easily offer themselves to the skilful in maritime affairs. However, as the Manilla ships are the only ones which have ever traversed this vast ocean, except a French straggler or two, which have been afterwards seized on the coast of Mexico; and as, during near two ages, in which this trade has been carried on, the Spaniards have secreted with the utmost care all accounts of their voyages from the rest of the world; these reasons would alone authorize the insertion of those papers, and would recommend them to the inquisitive, as a very great improvement in geography, and worthy of attention, from the singularity of many circumstances therein recited.

I must add what, in my opinion, is far from being the least recommendation of these materials, that the observations of the variations of the compass, which are laid down in the chart from these Spanish journals, tend greatly to complete the general system of the magnetic variation, of infinite importance to the commercial and sea-faring part of mankind. These observations were, though in vain, often publicly called for by our learned countryman, the late Dr Halley, and to his immortal reputation they confirm, as far as they extend, the wonderful hypothesis he had entertained

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on this head, and very nearly correspond, in their quantity, to the predictions he published about fifty years since, long before he was acquainted with any one observation made in those seas. The ascertaining the variation in that part of the world is just now of more than ordinary consequence, as the editors of a new variation chart, lately published, for want of proper information, have been misled by an erroneous analogy, and have even mistaken the very species of variation in that of the northern ocean; for they make it westerly where it is easterly, and have laid it down 12° or 13° different from its real quantity.

This much it has been thought necessary to premise, with regard to the hydrographical and geographical part of the ensuing work; which, it is hoped, the reader will find, on perusal, much ampler and more important than this slight sketch can well explain. But, as there are hereafter interspersed, occasionally, some accounts of Spanish transactions, and many observations relative to the dispositions of the American Spaniards, and to the condition of the countries bordering on the South Seas; and as herein I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally established; I think it behoves me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by in these matters, that I may not be censured as having given way, either to a thoughtless credulity on the one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate misrepresentation on the other.

Mr Anson, before he set sail upon this expedition, besides the printed journals to these parts, took care to furnish himself with the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico. These he carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the informations of several intelligent persons who fell into his hands in the South Seas. He had likewise the good fortune, in some of his captures, to possess himself of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the viceroy of Peru to the viceroy of Santa Fee, to the presidents of Panama and Chili, to Don Blass de Lezo, admiral of the galleons, and to divers other persons in considerable employments; and in these letters there was usually inserted a recital of those they were intended to answer, so that they contained no small part of the correspondence between these officers, for some

time

time previous to our arrival on the coast. We took, besides, many letters, sent from persons entrusted by the Spanish government, to their friends and correspondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public business, and sometimes contained undisguised animadversions on the views and conduct of their superiors. From these materials those accounts of the Spanish affairs are drawn, which may appear, at first sight, the most exceptionable. In particular, the history of the various casualties which befel Pizarro's squadron is, for the most part, composed from intercepted letters; though, indeed, the relation of the insurrection of Orellana and his followers is founded on rather a less disputable authority; for it was taken from the mouths of an English gentleman then on board Pizarro, who often conversed with Pizarro; and it was, upon enquiry, confirmed in its principal circumstances by others who were in the ship at the same time: so that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be contested.

And, on this occasion, I cannot but mention, that, though I have endeavoured with my utmost care to adhere strictly to truth, in every article of the ensuing narration, yet I am apprehensive that, in so complicated a work, some oversights must have been committed, by the inattention to which, at all times, all mankind are liable. However, I am conscious, as yet, of none but literal and insignificant mistakes; and if there are others more considerable, which have escaped me, I flatter myself they are not of moment enough to affect any material transaction; and therefore I hope they may justly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the ensuing work, it might be expected perhaps, that I should proceed to the work itself; but I cannot finish this introduction without adding a few reflections on a matter very nearly connected with the present subject, and, as I conceive, neither destitute of utility nor unworthy the attention of the public: I mean the animating my countrymen, both in their public and private stations, to the encouragement of all kinds of geographical and nautical observations, and of every species of mechanical and commercial information. It is by a settled attachment to these seemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have established some part of that power with which we are now struggling: and as we have the means in our hands of pursuing these subjects more effectually than

they can, it would be a dishonour to us longer to neglect so easy and beneficial a practice. For, as we have a navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very distant stations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in assisting our allies against the common enemy, this gives us frequent opportunities of furnishing ourselves with such kind of materials as are here recommended, and such as might turn greatly to our advantage either in war or peace; since, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the navy, if their application to these subjects was properly encouraged, it would create no new expence to the government to establish a particular regulation for this purpose; as all that would be requisite would be constantly to embark, in some of our men of war which are sent on those distant cruizes, a person who, with the character of an engineer, and the skill and talents necessary to that profession, should be employed in drawing such coasts, and planning such harbours, as the ship should touch at, and in making such other observations, of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the public service. Persons habituated to these operations, which could not fail at the same time of improving them in their proper business, would be extremely useful in many other lights besides those already mentioned, and might tend to secure our fleets from those disgraces with which their attempts against places on shore have been often attended. And, in a nation like ours, where all sciences are more eagerly and universally pursued, and better understood, than in any other part of the world, proper subjects for these employments cannot long be wanting, if due encouragement were given to them.

This method, here recommended, is known to have been frequently practised by the French, particularly in the instance of Mons. Frezier, an engineer, who has published a celebrated voyage to the South Seas: for this person was purposely sent by the French king, in the year 1711, into that country, on board a merchant ship, that he might examine and describe the coast, and take plans of all the fortified places; the better to enable the French to prosecute their illicit trade, or, on a rupture between them and the court of Spain, to form their enterprizes in those seas with more readiness and certainty. Should we pursue this method, we might hope that the emulation amongst those who were commissioned

missioned for these undertakings, and the experience which, even in the most peaceable intervals, they would thereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able engineers, and might efface the national scandal which our deficiency in that species of men has sometimes exposed us to: and surely every step to encourage and improve them is of greater moment to the public, as no persons, when they are properly instructed, make better returns in war for the distinctions and emoluments bestowed on them in times of peace: of which, the advantages the French have reaped from their dexterity, too numerous and recent to be soon forgot, are an ample confirmation.

Having mentioned engineers, or such as are skilled in drawing and the other usual practices of that profession, as the properest persons to be employed in these foreign enquiries, I cannot but lament, as it offers itself so very naturally to the subject in hand, how very imperfect many of our accounts of distant countries are rendered by the relators being unskilled in drawing, and in the general principles of surveying, even where other abilities have not been wanting. Had more of our travellers been initiated in these acquirements, and had there been added thereto some little skill in the common astronomical observations, all which a person of ordinary talents might attain with a very moderate share of application, we should, by this time, have seen the geography of the globe much correcter than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been considerably lessened, and the manners, arts, and produce of foreign countries would have been better known to us than they are. Indeed, when I consider the strong incitements that all travellers have to pursue some part at least of these qualifications, especially drawing; when I consider how much it would facilitate their observations, assist and strengthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible, a load of description it would rid them; I cannot but wonder that any person who intends to visit distant countries, with a view of informing either himself or others, should be wanting in so necessary a piece of skill. And, to enforce this argument still farther, I must add, that, besides the uses of drawing already mentioned, there is one which, though not so obvious, is yet perhaps of more consequence than all that has been hitherto urged; I mean the strength and distinguishing power it adds to some of our faculties. This appears from hence,

hence, that those who are used to draw objects observe them with more accuracy than others who are not habituated to that practice. For we may easily find, by a little experience, that when we view any object, however simple, our attention or memory is scarcely at any time so strong as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect exactly every part it consisted of, and to recall all the circumstances of its appearance; since, on examination, it will be discovered, that in some we were mistaken, and others we had totally overlooked. But he who is accustomed to draw what he sees, is, at the same time, accustomed to rectify this inattention; for, by confronting his ideas, copied on the paper, with the object he intends to represent, he finds out what circumstance has deceived him in its appearance; and hence he at length acquires the habit of observing much more at one view than he could ever have done without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been said merits the attention of travellers of all sorts, it is, I think, more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the navy, since, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of land can be taken; and without these it is sufficiently evident that navigation is at a full stand. It is doubtless from a persuasion of the utility of these qualifications, that his majesty has established a drawing-master at Portsmouth, for the instruction of those who are presumed to be hereafter entrusted with the command of his royal navy; and though some have been so far misled as to suppose that the perfection of sea officers consisted in a turn of mind and temper resembling the boisterous element they have to deal with, and have condemned all literature and science, as effeminate and derogatory to that ferocity, which, they would falsely persuade us, was the most unerring characteristic of courage, yet it is to be hoped that such absurdities have not at any time been authorized by the public opinion, and that the belief daily diminishes. If those who adhere to these mischievous positions were capable of being influenced by reason, or swayed by example, I should think it sufficient for their conviction to observe, that the most valuable drawings inserted in the following work, though done with such skill that even professed artists can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr Piercy Bret, one of Mr Anson's lieutenants, and since captain of the Lion man-of-war, who, in his memorable engagement with the Elizabeth, [for the importance of

of the service, or the resolution with which it was conducted, inferior to none this age has seen,] has given ample proof that a proficiency in the arts I have been recommending, is extremely consistent with the most exemplary bravery, and the most distinguished skill in every function belonging to a sea officer.

Indeed, when the many branches of science are considered, of which even the common practice of navigation is composed, and the many improvements which men of skill have added to this practice within these few years, it would induce one to believe that the advantages of reflection and speculative knowledge were in no profession more eminent than in that of a naval officer; for, not to mention some expertness in geography, geometry, and astronomy, which it would be dishonourable for him to be without, as his journal and his estimate of the daily position of the ship are founded on particular branches of these sciences, it may well be supposed, that the management and working of a ship, the discovery of her most eligible position in the water, usually called her *trim*, and the disposition of her sails in the most advantageous manner, are articles in which the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly assistant. And, perhaps, the application of this kind of knowledge to naval subjects may produce as great improvements in sailing and working a ship, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the ease and convenience of human life; since, when the fabric of a ship and the variety of her sails are considered, together with the artificial contrivances for adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted but these things have been brought about by more than ordinary sagacity and invention; so neither can it be doubted but that, in some conjunctures, a speculative and scientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and disposing this complicated mechanism much more advantageously than can be done by mere habit, or by a servile copying of what others may have, perhaps erroneously, practised in similar emergencies. But it is time to finish this digression, and to leave the reader to the perusal of the ensuing work, which, with how little art soever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the subject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit some share of the public attention.

SECTION

Section I.

Of the Equipment of the Squadron, and the Incidents relating to it, from its first Appointment to its setting Sail from St Helens.

The squadron under the command of Mr Anson, of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings, having undergone many changes in its destination, its force, and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final sailing from St Helens, I conceive the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the justification of those who have been entrusted with its execution; since it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards exposed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the strength of the squadron and the expectation of the public seemed to presage, were principally owing to a series of interruptions, which delayed the commander in the course of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmost industry either to avoid or get removed.

When, in the latter end of the summer 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of some considerable persons, then trusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that crown in her distant settlements; for by this means, as at that time there was the greatest probability of success, it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and should reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace, as they would be deprived of the returns of that treasure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In pursuance of these sentiments, several projects were examined, and several resolutions were taken by the council. And, in all these deliberations, it was from the first determined, that George Anson, Esq. then captain of the Centurion, should be employed as commander-in-chief of an expedition of this kind: and, he at that time being absent on a cruize,

cruize, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ship to Portsmouth. And soon after he came there, that is, on the 10th November following, he received a letter from Sir Charles Wager, directing him to repair to London, and to attend the board of Admiralty; where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles, that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which, however, would have some connection with each other; and that he, Mr Anson, was intended to command one of them; and that Mr Cornwall, who hath since lost his life gloriously in defence of his country's honour, was to command the other; that the squadron under Mr Anson was to take on board three independent companies of an hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot; that Colonel Bland was likewise to embark with his regiment, and to command the land-forces; and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for sea, they were to sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java-Head in the East-Indies; that they were there only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla in Luçonia, one of the Philippine islands; that the other squadron, of equal force with this commanded by Mr Anson, was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, to range along that coast; and, after cruizing upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, this squadron, in its return, was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the squadron under Mr Anson, where they were to refresh their men, and to refit their ships, and perhaps receive orders for other considerable enterprizes.

This scheme was doubtless extremely well projected, and could not but have greatly advanced the public service, and the reputation and fortune of those concerned in its execution; for, had Mr Anson proceeded to Manilla at the time and in the manner proposed by Sir Charles Wager, he would in all probability have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and consequently before they had been in the least prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehensions of their danger. The city of Manilla might well be supposed to have been at that time in the same defenceless condition with all the other Spanish settlements, just at the breaking out of the war; that is, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their

their cannon dismounted, or rendered useless by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, both of military stores and provisions, all empty; their garrisons unpaid, and consequently thin, ill affected, and dispirited; and the royal chests of Peru, whence alone all these disorders could receive redress, drained to the very bottom. This, from the intercepted letters of their viceroys and governors, is well known to have been the defenceless state of Panama, and the other places on the coast of the South Sea, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war. And it cannot be supposed that the city of Manilla, removed still farther by almost half the circumference of the globe, should have experienced from the Spanish government a greater share of attention for its security than Panama, and the other important ports in Peru and Chili, on which their possession of that immense empire depends. Indeed, it is now well known that Manilla was at that time incapable of making any considerable defence, and, in all probability, would have surrendered only on the appearance of our squadron before it. The consequence of this city, and the island it stands on, may, in some measure, be estimated from the known healthiness of its air, the excellence of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extensive and beneficial commerce it carries on to the principal ports in the East-Indies and China, and its exclusive trade to Acapulco; the returns for which alone, being made in silver, are, upon the lowest calculation, not less than three millions of dollars yearly.

On this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that, on the 18th December, a few days only before this first conference, Mr Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal sloop; and other orders were issued to him, in the same month and in December, relating to the victualling of this squadron. But, on attending the Admiralty in the beginning of January, 1740, Mr Anson was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that, for reasons with which he was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. It may well be conceived that Mr Anson was extremely chagrined at losing the command of so infallible, so honourable, and in every respect so desirable an enterprize; especially as he had already, at a very great expence, made the necessary provision for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reason to expect would prove very long. However, to render this disappointment

appointment more tolerable, Sir Charles Wager informed him that the expedition to the South Sea was still intended; and that he, Mr Anson, and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service. And, on the 10th January, 1740, he received his commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the before-mentioned squadron, the Argyle being in the course of preparation exchanged for the Gloucester, with which he sailed above eight months afterwards from St Helens. On this change of destination, the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever; and the victualling, and whatever depended on the commodore, was soon so far advanced, that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation.

At length, on the 28th June, 1740, the Duke of Newcastle, principal secretary of state, delivered to him his majesty's instructions, dated on the 31st of January preceding, with an additional instruction from the lords justices, dated 19th June. On the receipt of these, Mr Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his difficulties were now at an end: for though he knew by the muster that his squadron wanted three hundred men of their complement, a deficiency he had not, with all his assiduity, been able to get supplied, yet as Sir Charles Wager had informed him that an order from the board of Admiralty was sent to Sir John Norris to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But, on his arrival at Portsmouth, he found himself greatly mistaken and disappointed in this persuasion: for, on application, Sir John Norris told him he could spare him none, as he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable and very considerable delay, and it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied, and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation; for Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead, after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of three hundred sailors which Mr Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron an hundred and seventy men only, of which thirty-two were from the hospital and sick-quarters, thirty-seven men from the Salisbury, with three officers and ninety-eight marines of Colonel Lowther's regi-

 ment;

ment; and these were all that were ever granted to make up the forementioned deficiency.

But the commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of an hundred men each, should embark as land-forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed; and all the land-forces that were to be allowed were five hundred invalids, to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea College. As these consisted of soldiers, who, from their age, wounds, and other circumstances, were incapable of serving in marching regiments, Mr Anson was much chagrined at having such a decrepid detachment allotted to him; for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of them would perish long before they could arrive at the scene of action, since the delays he had already experienced necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. Sir Charles Wager joined in opinion with the commodore, that invalids were by no means proper for this service, and strenuously solicited to have them exchanged. But he was told, that persons who were considered better judges of soldiers than he or Mr Anson, thought them the properest men that could be employed on this occasion; and, upon this determination, they were ordered on board the squadron on the 5th of August. But, instead of five hundred, there came no more on board than two hundred and fifty-nine; for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth deserted, leaving only those behind who were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some upwards of seventy. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans: they were themselves extremely averse from the service in which they were engaged, and fully apprized of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to, the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern which appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were any way proportioned; and in which, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprize, they would in all probability uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this, too,

too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in the service of their country.

I cannot but observe, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diseased detachment, and to the expedition in which they were engaged, that, amongst all the out-pensioners of Chelsea College, which were supposed to amount to two thousand men, the most crazy and infirm only should be called out for so laborious and perilous an undertaking; for it was well known, however unfit invalids in general might be for this service, yet, by a prudent choice, there might have been found amongst them five hundred men who had some remains of vigour; and Mr Anson fully expected that the best of them would have been allotted to him; whereas the whole detachment sent seemed to be made up of the most decrepid and miserable objects that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the desertion already mentioned, even these were cleared of the little strength and health which were to be found among them, and he had to take up with such as were much fitter for an infirmary than for any military duty.

It is here also necessary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this squadron. After it was determined that Mr Anson should be sent to the South Sea, it was proposed to Mr Anson to take with him two persons under the denomination of agent-victuallers. Those mentioned for this employment had been formerly in the Spanish American colonies, in the service of the South-Sea Company, and it was supposed, that, by their knowledge and intelligence on that coast, they might often procure provisions for the squadron by compact with the inhabitants, when they were not to be got by force of arms. These agent-victuallers were, for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of fifteen thousand pounds in merchandize on board the squadron, as they represented that it would be much easier to procure provisions in exchange for goods, than for the value of the same goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this scheme, it was difficult to persuade the generality of mankind that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they proposed to carry on upon that coast. From the beginning, Mr Anson objected both to the appointment of agent-victuallers and to allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron; for he conceived that in those few amicable ports where the squadron might

might touch, he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions these places afforded; and, when on the enemy's coast, he did not imagine they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects, with which he was resolved not to comply. All that he thought the government ought to have done, of this kind, was to put on board, to the value of two or three thousand pounds, of such goods only as were suitable for the Indians, or the Spanish planters on the less cultivated parts of the coast, as it was in such places only that he considered it might be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions, and it was sufficiently evident that a very small cargo would suffice for such places.

Although the commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers and to their project, of the ill success of which he had no question, yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron, might contribute to the settling a trade on that coast which might afterwards be carried on without difficulty, and might become of very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by several considerable persons; and, of the fifteen thousand pounds, which was to be the amount of their cargo, the government agreed to advance them ten thousand pounds upon imprest, and the remaining five thousand they raised on bottomry bonds, and the goods purchased with this latter sum were all that were put on board the squadron, how much soever their amount might be afterwards magnified by common report. This cargo was shipped at first in the Wager storeship, and one of the victuallers, no part of it being admitted on board the men-of-war; but, when the commodore was at St Catharine's, he considered, in case the squadron might be separated, that it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions for want of a cargo to truck with, wherefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men-of-war, leaving the remainder principally on board the Wager, in which it was lost, and more of the goods perishing, by various accidents to be recited afterwards, and as no part of them being disposed of on the coast, the few that came home to England, when sold, did not produce above a fourth part of the original cost. So true was the commodore's judgment of the event of this project,

ject, which had been considered by many as infallibly productive of immense gain.

We return to the transactions at Portsmouth. To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids who had deserted, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines, drafted from different regiments. These were raw and undisciplined men, just raised, and had scarcely any thing more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last of these detachments came on board on the 8th August, and on the 10th the squadron dropped down from Spithead to St Helen's, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition. The delays we had already suffered had not yet spent all their influence; for we were now advanced to that season of the year when the westerly winds are usually very prevalent and violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen, and the expedition under Lord Cathcart. As we now made up in all twenty-one sail of men-of-war, and one hundred and twenty-four sail of merchant ships and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the channel with so large a fleet, without the continuance of a fair wind for a considerable time, and this was what we had every day less and less reason to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; wherefore our golden dreams and ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures grew every day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the passage round Cape Horn, in the winter season, filled our imaginations in their room. It was forty days from our arrival at St Helens to our final departure from that place; and even then, having orders to proceed without Lord Cathcart, we tided down the channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the displeasing fatigue of often setting sail, and being as often obliged to return, nor exempt from dangers greater than have been sometimes undergone in surrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair for the first time on the 23d August, we got under sail, and Admiral Balchen shewed himself truly solicitous to have proceeded to sea; but the wind soon returned to its old quarter, and obliged us to put back to St Helens, not without considerable hazard, and some damage received by two of the transports, which ran foul of each other when tacking. We made two or three other attempts to sail, but without any

any better success; and, on the 6th September, being returned to anchor at St Helens, after one of those fruitless attempts, the wind blew so fresh that the whole fleet had to strike yards and topmasts to prevent drifting: Yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the Centurion drove next evening, and brought both cables a-head, when we were in no small danger of getting foul of the Prince Frederick, a seventy-gun ship, which was moored only a small distance under our stern, but we happily escaped, in consequence of her drifting at the same time, by which she preserved her distance, yet we did not think ourselves safe till we at last let go our sheet anchor, which fortunately brought us up.

We were in some measure relieved from this lingering and vexatious situation on the 9th September, by an order then received by Commodore Anson, from the lords justices, to put to sea on the first opportunity, with his own squadron only, if Lord Cathcart should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our commodore resolved to weigh and tide it down channel, as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate, and this might easily have been done by our squadron full two months sooner, had the orders of the Admiralty for supplying us with seamen been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays mentioned in this narration. Even now, our hopes of a speedy departure were somewhat damped, by a subsequent order which Mr Anson received on the 12th September, by which he was required to take under his convoy the St Albans and the Turkey fleet, and to join the Dragon and the Winchester, with the Straits and American trade, at Torbay or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together. This encumbrance of convoy gave us some uneasiness, fearing it might lengthen our passage to Madeira: However, having now the command to himself, Mr Anson resolved to tide down channel with the first moderate weather; and, that the junction of the convoy might occasion as little loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to Torbay that the fleet he was there to take charge of should be in readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And at last, on the 18th September, he weighed from St Helens, and, though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing section.

Having

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this squadron, it must be sufficiently obvious how different an aspect the expedition bore at its first appointment in the beginning of January, from what it did in the latter end of September, when it left the channel, and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success were diminished by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For, instead of having all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able, which the commodore was at first promised, and having our complement complete to its full number, we were obliged to retain our first crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwise made up than by sending on board an hundred and seventy men, the greatest part of whom were discharged from hospitals, or new-raised marines who had never been at sea before. In the land-forces allotted to us, the change was still more disadvantageous; as, instead of Bland's regiment of foot, which was an old one, and three independent companies of an hundred men each, we had only four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, one part of whom were incapable of action, by their age and infirmities, and the other part useless, by ignorance of their duty. But the diminution of the strength of the squadron was not the greatest inconveniency which attended these alterations; for the contests, representations, and difficulties which they continually produced, as we have seen above that the authority of the Admiralty in these cases was not always submitted to, occasioned a delay and waste of time, which, in its consequences, was the source of all the disasters to which the enterprize was afterwards exposed. For, owing to these circumstances, we were forced to make our passage round Cape Horn at the most tempestuous season of the year, whence proceeded the separation of our squadron, the loss of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total destruction. By this delay also, the enemy had been so well informed of our designs, that a person who had been employed in the service of the South-Sea Company, and arrived from Panama three or four days before we left Portsmouth, was able to relate to Mr Anson most of the particulars of the destination and strength of our squadron, from what he had learnt from the Spaniards before he left them. This was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumstance; for

for we shall find, that when the Spaniards, fully satisfied of our expedition being intended for the South Seas, had fitted out a squadron before us, which had so far got the start as to arrive before us at the island of Madeira, the commander of this squadron was so well instructed in the form and make of Mr Anson's broad pendant, and had imitated it so exactly, that he thereby decoyed the Pearl, one of our squadron, within gun-shot of him, before the captain of the Pearl was able to discover the deception.

SECTION II.

The Passage from St Helens to the Island of Madeira, with a short Account of that Island, and of our Stay there.

As observed in the preceding section, the squadron weighed from St Helens with a contrary wind on the 18th of September, 1740, our commodore proposing to tide down the channel, as he less dreaded the inconveniences we might have thereby to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprize by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted for this expedition consisted of five men-of-war, a sloop of war, and two victuallers. These were, the Centurion of 60 guns, and 400 men, George Anson, Esq. commander; the Gloucester, of 50 guns, and 300 men, Richard Norris, commander; the Severn, of 50 guns, and 300 men, the Honourable Edward Legg, commander; the Pearl, of 40 guns, and 250 men, Matthew Mitchell, commander; the Wager, of 28 guns, and 160 men, Dandy Kidd, commander; the Tryal sloop, of 8 guns, and 100 men, the Honourable John Murray, commander. The two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred tons burden; and these were to attend us till the provisions we had on board were so far consumed as to make room for the additional quantity they carried, which was then to be taken into our ships, and they were to be discharged. Besides the before-mentioned complements of men borne by the ships as their crews, there were embarked in our squadron about 470 invalids and marines, as particularly mentioned in last section, under the denomination of land-forces, which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracherode.

With

With this squadron, together with the St Albans and Lark, and the Turkey trade under their convoy, we tided down channel for the first forty-eight hours. In the morning of the 20th, we discovered the Dragon, Winchester, South-Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy, waiting for us off the Ram-head. We joined there the same day about noon, the commodore having orders to see them, together with the convoy of the St Albans and Lark, as far as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last-mentioned ship, Mr Anson first hoisted his broad pendant, and was saluted by all the men-of-war in company. After joining this last convoy, we made up eleven men-of-war, and about 150 sail of merchant ships, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits, and the American trades. The same day Mr Anson made a signal for all captains of men-of-war to come on board, when he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions, and then we all stood to the S.W. with a fair wind; so that next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues beyond the Ram-head. Being now clear of the land, our commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered Captain Mitchell, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester, with the American convoy, made the concerted signal for leave to separate, and this being answered by the commodore, they left us, which was done by the St Albans and the Dragon on the 24th, with the Turkey and Straits convoys.

There now remained only our own squadron and the two victuallers, with which we stood on our course for the island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days on our passage to that island from St Helens, though it is often known to be done in ten or twelve. This delay was most unpleasant, and was productive of much discontent and ill humour among our people, of which these only can have an adequate idea who have experienced a similar situation: For, besides the peevishness and despondency, which foul and contrary winds, and a lingering voyage, never fail to produce on all occasions, we in particular had substantial reasons for being greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment; since, as we departed from England much later than we ought to

have

have done, we had placed almost all our hope of success on the chance of retrieving in some measure at sea, the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St Helens. At last, on Monday the 25th October, at five in the morning, we made the land to our great joy, and came to anchor in the afternoon in Madeira road, in forty fathoms, the Brazen Head bearing from us E. by S. the Loo N.N.W. and the Great Church N. N. E. We had hardly let go our anchor when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern, and saluted the commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. Next day the English consul visited the commodore, and was saluted with nine guns on coming on board.

The island of Madeira, where we now arrived, is famous through all our American settlements for its excellent wines, which seem designed by Providence for the refreshment of the inhabitants of the torrid zone. It is situated in a fine climate, in lat. 32° 27′ N. and long. from London 18° 30′ to 19° 30′ W. by our different reckonings, though laid down in the charts in 17°.[1] The whole island is composed of one continued hill of considerable height, extending from east to west; the declivity of which, on the south side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards. In the middle of this slope the merchants have their country seats, which contribute to form a very agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town, named Fonchiale, on the south part of the island, situated at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the sea it is defended by a high wall with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. Tonchiale is the only place of trade, and indeed the only place where it is possible for a boat to land; and even there the beach is so covered with great stones, and so violent a surf beats continually upon it, that the commodore did not care to venture the long-boats of our ships in fetching off water, and therefore ordered the captains to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. While here, on the 3d November, Captain Richard

[1] The charts are however the most accurate, as that is the long. of the centre of Madeira, in our best modern maps.—E.

Richard Norris signified to the commodore, by letter, his desire to quit the command of the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health. The commodore complied with this request, and was pleased to appoint Captain Matthew Mitchell to command the Gloucester in his room, to remove Captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and Captain Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to Lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the commodore, on the 4th November, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St Jago, one of the Cape Verd islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of separation; and, if they did not meet the Centurion there, directing them to make the best of their way to the island of St Catharine on the coast of Brazil. The water for the squadron being that day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took leave of Madeira. But, before continuing the narrative of our transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

On visiting the governor of Madeira, Mr Anson was informed by him, that for three or four days in the latter end of October, there had appeared to the westward of the island seven or eight ships of the line and a *patache*, which last was sent close in with the land every day. The governor assured our commodore, upon his honour, that no person on the island had either given them intelligence, or had any sort of communication with them. He believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to suppose the latter. On this intelligence, Mr Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop eight leagues to the westwards, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were: But the officer returned without having seen them, so that we still remained in uncertainty; yet we could not but conjecture that this fleet was intended to put a stop, if possible, to our expedition; and, had they cruized to the eastward of the island, instead of the westward, they could not have failed in doing so: for, as in that case they must infallibly have fallen in with us, we should have been under the necessity of throwing overboard vast quantities of provisions, to clear our ships for action; and this alone, inde-

pendent

pendent of the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. We supposed, therefore, that this French or Spanish squadron, having advice that we were to sail in company with Admiral Balchen and Lord Cathcart's expedition, might not think it adviseable to meet with us till we had parted company, from apprehension of being over-matched, and supposed we might not separate before our arrival at this island. These were our speculations at the time, from which we had reason to suppose we might still fall in with them, in our way to the Cape de Verd islands. We were afterwards persuaded, in the course of our expedition, that this was the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprizes of our squadron, to which they were greatly superior in strength. As this Spanish armament was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe, if underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation produced in consequence of our equipment; I have, in the following section, given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain in 1740, till the Asia, the only ship of the whole squadron that returned to Europe, got back to Corunna in the beginning of the year 1746.

SECTION III.

History of the Spanish Squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro.

THE squadron fitted out by the court of Spain, to attend our motions, and traverse our projects, we supposed to have been the ships seen off Madeira. As this force was sent out particularly against our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following history of its casualties, so far as has come to my knowledge, by intercepted letters and other information, is an essential part of the present work. For it will from hence appear, that we were the occasion of a considerable part of the Spanish naval power being diverted from prosecuting the ambitious views of that court in Europe;

and whatever men and ships were lost by the enemy in this undertaking, were lost in consequence of the precautions they took to secure themselves against our expedition.

This squadron, besides two ships bound for the West Indies, which did not part company till after they left Madeira, was composed of the following men-of-war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro. The Asia of 66 guns and 700 men, the admiral's ship; the Guipuscoa of 74 guns and 700 men; the Hermiona of 54 guns and 500 men; the Esperanza of 50 guns and 450 men; the St Estevan of 40 guns and 350 men; and a patache of 20 guns.

Over and above their complements of sailors and marines, these ships had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South-Sea. Having cruised some days to leeward of Madeira, as formerly mentioned, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the Rio de la Plata, where they arrived on the 5th of January O. S. and coming to anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their admiral sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions, having left Spain with only four months provisions on board. While waiting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of St Catharines, of Mr Anson having arrived at that island on the 21st December preceding, and that he was preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Notwithstanding his superior force, Pizarro had his reasons, and some say his orders, for avoiding our squadron any where short of the South-Sea. He was, besides, extremely desirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, imagining that alone would effectually baffle all our designs; wherefore, hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should be soon ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with his five large ships, the Patache being disabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her; and, after a stay of seventeen days only, got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. Notwithstanding this precipitation, we put to sea from St Catharines four days before he did from Maldonado; and at one part of our passage to Cape Horn the two squadrons were so near, that the Pearl, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and, mistaking the Asia for the Centurion, got

got within gun-shot of the Asia before the mistake was discovered, and narrowly escaped being taken.

As it was the 22d January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and, as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, while the Spanish sailors, for the most part accustomed to a fair-weather country, might be supposed averse from so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation, the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to have leave to dispose of in the South-Seas, that so the hopes of the great profits they were to make of their ventures, might animate them in their duty, and render them less disposed to repine at the labours, hardships, and perils they might in all probability meet with, before their arrival on the coast of Peru.

Towards the latter end of February, Pizarro and his squadron got into the latitude of Cape Horn, and then stood to the westwards in order to double that southern promontory. But, in the night of the last of February O. S. while turning to windward with this view, the Guipuscoa, Hermiona, and Espranza were separated from the admiral. On the 6th March following, the Guipuscoa was separated from the other two; and next day, being that after we passed the Straits of Le Maire, there came on a most furious storm at N.W. which, in spite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and, after several fruitless attempts, obliged them to bear away for the river of Plate. Pizarro arrived there in the Asia about the middle of May, and was followed a few days after by the Esperanza and Estevan. The Hermiona was supposed to have foundered, as she was never more heard of; and the Guipuscoa was run on shore and destroyed on the coast of Brazil. The calamities of all kinds which this squadron underwent in their unsuccessful attempt to double Cape Horn, can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our distresses, rendering it difficult to decide whose situation was most worthy of commiseration; for, to all the miseries and misfortunes we experienced in common, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and despondency necessarily attendant on these disasters, there

was

was superadded on board our squadron the ravages of a most destructive and incurable disease; and in the Spanish squadron the devastation of famine.

It has been already observed, that this squadron left Spain with only four months provisions on board, and even that, it is said, at short allowance, either owing to the hurry of their outfit, or presuming upon a supply at Buenos Ayres; so that, when their continuance at sea was prolonged, by the storms they met with off Cape Horn, a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor who died in one of the ships, had his death concealed by his brother for some days, who lay all that time in the hammock with the corpse, that he might receive the dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation, if their horrors were capable of augmentation, they were alarmed by discovering a conspiracy among the marines on board the Asia, who proposed massacring the officers and whole crew, their sole motive for this bloody resolution appearing to be the desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole provisions in the ship to themselves. This design was prevented, when just on the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors, and three of the ringleaders were immediately put to death. By the complicated distresses of fatigue, sickness, and famine, the three ships that escaped lost the greatest part of their men. The admiral's ship, the Asia, arrived at Monte Video in the Rio Plata with only half her crew. The Estevan, when she anchored in the bay of Barragan had also lost half her men. The Esperanza was still more unfortunate, for of 450 hands she brought with her from Spain, only 58 remained alive. The whole regiment of foot perished except sixty men. To give a more distinct idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, I shall present a short account of the fate of the Guipuscoa, extracted from a letter written by Don Joseph Mindinuetta, her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima, a copy of which fell into our hands when in the South-Sea.

Having separated on the 6th March in a fog from the Hermiona and Esperanza, being then, as I suppose, to the S. E. of States Land, and plying to the westward, it blew a furious storm at N. W. the succeeding night, which, at half past ten, split his main-sail, and obliged him to bear away with

with his foresail. The ship now went ten knots an hour with a prodigious sea, and often ran her gangway under water. He likewise sprung his main-mast, and the ship made so much water that she could not be freed by four pumps assisted by bailing. On the 9th the wind became calm, but the sea continued so high that the ship, in rolling, opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt ends of her planks, and the greatest part of her top-timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of the roll. In this condition, with additional disasters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating westward to the 12th, when they were in lat. 60° S. and in great want of provisions, numbers perishing daily by the fatigue of pumping, and the survivors quite dispirited by labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather, their decks being covered with snow above a foot in depth. Finding the wind fixed in the west and blowing strong, and their passage that way impossible, they resolved to bear away for the Rio Plata. On the 22d they had to throw overboard all their upper-deck guns and an anchor, and were obliged to take six turns of the cable round the ship to prevent her from opening and falling to pieces. On the 4th of April, in calm weather, but with a very heavy sea, the ship rolled so much that her main-mast came by the board, and was soon after followed by the fore and mizen masts, after which they had to cut away the boltsprit, to diminish, if possible, the leakage forwards. By this time two hundred and fifty of the men had perished by hunger and fatigue. Those who were capable of working at the pumps, at which every officer took his turn without exception, were only allowed an ounce and a half of biscuit daily; while those who were weak and sickly, so that they could not assist in this necessary labour, had no more than one ounce of wheat. It was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps, and all they could muster for duty, including the officers, was from eighty to an hundred men.

The S. W. wind blew so fresh for some days after they lost their masts, that they could not set up jury-masts; so that they were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitude of 32° and 38° S. till the 24th of April, when they made the coast of Brazil at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the southward of the island of St Catharines. They came here to an anchor, the captain being very desirous of proceeding to St Catharines, in order to save the hull of the ship, with

with her guns and stores: But the crew instantly left off pumping, and all in one voice cried out, *On shore! on shore!* enraged at the hardships they had suffered and the numbers they had lost, there being at this time thirty dead bodies lying on the deck. Thus the captain was obliged to run the ship directly to the land, where she parted and sunk five days after, with all her stores and furniture; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared, to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the Guiapuscoa, we may form some conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was lost, and of the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron which got into the Rio Plata. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kinds of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres or any of the neighbouring settlements, Pizarro dispatched an advice-boat with a letter of credit to Rio de Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese. He sent at the same time an express across the continent to St Jago de Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen his squadron, and desiring a remittance of two hundred thousand dollars from the royal chest at Lima, to enable him to refit and victual his remaining ships, that he might be again in condition to attempt the passage to the South-Sea as soon as the season of the year should be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards, as a most extraordinary circumstance, that, though then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassable on account of the snow, the Indian who was charged with this express was only thirteen days on his journey from Buenos Ayres to St Jago in Chili, though the distance is three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are among the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this dispatch of Pizarro from the viceroy was by no means favourable. Instead of two hundred thousand dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only one hundred thousand, telling him that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure even that sum. But the inhabitants of Lima, who considered the presence of Pizarro as absolutely necessary to their security, were much discontented at this procedure, and did not scruple to assert, that it was not the want of money, but the interested views of

of some of the viceroy's confidants, that prevented Pizarro from getting the whole sum.

The advice-boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission but imperfectly; for, though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, she could not procure either masts or yards; and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he expected from Paraguay, as a carpenter whom he entrusted with a large sum of money, and sent there to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business he was sent upon, married in the country, and refused to return. However, by removing the masts of the Esperanza into the Asia, and using what spare masts and yards they had on board, they made a shift to refit the Asia and Estevan: And, in the October following, Pizarro was prepared to put to sea with these two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but, in coming down the Rio Plata, the Estevan ran upon a shoal and beat off her rudder, and Pizarro proceeded to sea in the Asia without her. Having now the antarctic summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage: But, when off Cape Horn and going right before the wind, it being moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, the ship rolled away her masts, by some misconduct of the officer having the watch, and was a second time obliged to put back in great distress to the Rio Plata.

As the Asia had suffered considerably in this second unfortunate expedition, the Esperanza was now ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was formerly captain of the Guipuscoa. In November 1742, he sailed from the Rio Plata for the south, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili, where he was met by his commodore, Pizarro, who passed over-land from Buenos Ayres. Great animosities and contests took place between these two officers, owing to the claim of Pizarro to command the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round, and now refused to resign; insisting, as he had come round the South Sea alone and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume the authority he had once parted with. But, after a long and obstinate struggle, as the president of Chili interposed and declared for Pizarro, Mindinuetta was obliged to submit.

Pizarro

Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his misfortunes. When he and Mindinuetta returned over-land, in 1745, from Chili to Buenos Ayres, they found the Asia still at Monte Video, and resolved, if possible, to carry her to Europe. With this view they refitted her in the best manner they could, but had great difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, as all the remaining sailors of the squadron, then to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, did not amount to an hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect, by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been surprised by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana, and he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew, all of them except the European sailors averse from the voyage, Pizarro set sail from Monte Video about the beginning of November 1745; and the native Spaniards, being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated them, the English prisoners and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity, particularly the Indians; for it was common in the meanest officers in the ship to beat them cruelly on the slightest pretence, and often merely to shew their superiority.

Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As these Indians have great intercourse with Buenos Ayres in time of peace, Orellana understood Spanish, and affected to converse with such of the English prisoners as could speak that language, seeming very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and of having them pointed out to him. As he knew the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as he was, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs and recovering his liberty; but, having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no farther with them, but resolved to trust alone

to

to the resolution of his ten faithful followers, who readily engaged to observe his directions and to execute his commands. Having agreed on the measures to be pursued, they contrived to provide themselves with Dutch knives, sharp at the point, which, being the common knives used in the ship, they procured without difficulty. They also employed their leisure in secretly cutting thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns; by which they formed most mischievous weapons, in the use of which, by swinging round the head, the Indians about Buenos Ayres are extremely expert, being trained to it from their infancy. When these things were in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed upon Orellana, who was ordered aloft by one of the officers, and being incapable of doing so, the officer, who was a brutal fellow, beat him with such violence, under pretence of disobedience, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and quite stupified with wounds and bruises. This certainly increased his thirst of revenge, so that within a day or two he and his followers began to execute their desperate resolves in the following manner.

About nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck indulging in the freshness of the night air, the forecastle being manned with its customary watch, Orellana and his companions, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trowsers and other cumbrous parts of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain reprimanded them for their presumption, and ordered them to be gone; on which Orellana spoke to his followers in their native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangways, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry of the savages, said to be the harshest and most terrifying of sounds. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre; upon which all the Indians drew their knives and brandished their prepared double-headed shot. The chief, and the six who remained with him on the quarter-deck, fell immediately on the

the Spaniards with whom they were intermingled, and in a very short space laid forty of them at their feet, above twenty of whom were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled.

In the beginning of the tumult, many of the officers rushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights and barricadoed the door: while of the others, who had escaped the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways to the forecastle, where the Indians, placed there on purpose, stabbed the greater part of them as they attempted to pass, or forced them off the gangways into the waste of the ship, which was filled with live cattle. Some threw themselves voluntarily over the barricades into the waste, and thought themselves fortunate to lie concealed among the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main-shrouds, and took shelter in the tops and rigging of the ship. Although the Indians only attacked the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecastle, finding their communication cut off, and terrified by a few of the wounded who had been able to force their passage, and not knowing either who were their enemies, or what were their numbers, they also gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the foremast and boltsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves almost in an instant of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, and manned by near five hundred hands, and even continued in peaceable possession of this part for some time. During a considerable space, the officers in the great cabin, among whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta, the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were merely anxious for their own safety, and were incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection and recovering the possession of the ship. The yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the darkness of the night, had at first greatly magnified the danger, and filled them with imaginary terrors. The Spaniards were sensible of the dissatisfaction of their impressed hands, and were conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, wherefore they concluded that the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; insomuch, that some are said to have designed to leap into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

When

When the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them. Orellana, when master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, which had been ordered there a few days before, on a slight suspicion of mutiny. He there expected to find cutlasses wherewith to arm himself and his followers, who were all well skilled in the use of that weapon, and with these it is imagined they proposed to have forced the great cabin: But on opening the chest, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed abundance of cutlasses in the chest, but they were hidden by the fire-arms being laid uppermost. This was a sensible disappointment to Orellana and his Indians. By this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin had been able to communicate with those below in the gun-room and between decks, by conversing aloud through the cabin windows; by which means they learnt that the English prisoners, whom they chiefly suspected, were all safe below, and had not participated in the mutiny; and by other circumstances they were at last made sensible that Orellana and his people only were concerned in it. Upon this information, Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the discontented on board had so far recovered from their surprise as to reflect on the facility of seizing the ship by joining with the Indians. With this view, Pizarro collected what arms were in the cabin and distributed them to those who were with him. There were no fire-arms except pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball; but having now a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered a bucket from the cabin window, into which the gunner put a quantity of pistol cartridges out of one of the gun-room ports. Having thus procured ammunition, and loaded their pistols, they partly opened the cabin door, and fired several shots among the Indians on the quarter-deck, though at first without effect. At last Mindinuetta had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead; on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where they all perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and possession of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been fully two hours in the power of this great

great and daring chief, and his small band of gallant unhappy countrymen.

Having thus escaped from imminent peril, Pizarro continued his voyage for Europe, and arrived safely on the coast of Gallicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after an absence of between four and five years, and having, by attendance on our expedition, diminished the royal power of Spain by above three thousand of their prime sailors, and by four considerable ships of war and a patache. For we have seen that the Hermione foundered at sea, the Guipuscoa was stranded and destroyed on the coast of Brazil, the St Estevan was condemned and broken up in the Rio Plata, and the Esperanza, being left in the South Sea, is doubtless by this time incapable of returning to Spain: So that the Asia alone, with less than an hundred hands, may be considered as all that remains of the squadron with which Pizarro put forth to sea; and whoever considers the very large proportion which this squadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will no doubt confess that, even if our undertaking had been attended with no other advantages, than that of ruining so great a part of the naval force of so dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a sufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an incontestable proof of the service which the nation has thence received. Having thus given a summary of Pizarro's adventures, I return to the narrative of our own transactions.

SECTION IV.

Passage from Madeira to St Catharines.

I HAVE already mentioned that we weighed from Madeira on the 3d November, after orders being given to rendezvous at St Jago, one of the Cape Verd islands, in case of a separation. But next day, when we were got to sea, the commodore, considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at St Jago would create additional delay, thought proper for this reason to alter the rendezvous, and appointed the island of St Catharines, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair, in case of separation.

In our passage to the island of St Catharines, we found the direction of the trade winds to differ considerably from what

we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators. For the learned Dr Halley, in his account of the trade-winds which prevail in the Ethiopic and Atlantic Oceans, tells us that, from the lat. of 28° N. to 10° N. there is generally a fresh gale of N.E. wind, which, towards the African coasts, rarely comes to the eastward of E.N.E. or passes to the northward of N.N.E. but on the American side the wind is somewhat more easterly; though even there it is commonly a point or two to the northward of east; that from 10° N. to 4° N. the calms and tornadoes take place; and from 4° N. to 30° S. the winds are generally and perpetually between the south and east. We expected to find this account of the matter confirmed by our experience; but we found considerable variations from it, both in regard to the steadiness of the winds, and the quarters from whence they blew. For though we met with a N.E. wind about lat. 28° N. yet, from lat. 25° N. to 18° N the wind was never once to the northward of E. but almost constantly to the southward of it. From thence, however, to 6° 20′ N. we had it usually to the northward of E. though not always, as it changed for a short time to E.S.E. From 6° 20′ N. to about 4° 46′ N. the weather was very unsettled, the wind being sometimes N.E. then changing to S.E. and sometimes we had a dead calm, with small rain and lightning. After this, to the lat. of 7° 30′ S. the wind continued almost invariably between S. and E. and then again as invariably between N. and E. till we came to 15° 30′ S. then E. and S.E. to 21° 37′ S. After this, even to 27° 44′ S. the wind was never once between S. and E. though we had it in all the other quarters of the compass; though this last circumstance may be in some measure accounted for from our approach to the coast of Brazil.

I do not mention these particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of these trade-winds, which, I doubt not, are sufficiently accurate; but I thought it worthy of public notice, that such deviations from the established rules do sometimes take place. This observation may not only be of service to navigators, by putting them on their guard against these hitherto unexplained and unnoticed irregularities, but it is also a circumstance that requires to be attended to in the solution of the great question about the causes of trade-winds and monsoons; a question which, in my opinion, has not been hitherto discussed with that clearness and accuracy which

which its importance demands, whether it be considered in a naval or a philosophical point of view.

On the 16th November, one of our victuallers made a signal to speak with the commodore, and we shortened sail for her to come up with us. The master came on board, and represented to Mr Anson, that, having complied with the terms of his charter-party, he now desired to be unloaded and discharged. On consulting the captain of the squadron, it was found all the ships had still such quantities of provisions between their decks, and were also so deep, that they could only take in their proportions of brandy from the Industry pink, one of the victuallers; and consequently the commodore had to continue the other, the Ann pink, in the service of attending the squadron. Accordingly, a signal was made next day for the ships to bring to, and the long-boats were employed that and the three following days, till the 19th in the evening, to take their proportions of the brandy in the Industry to the several ships of the squadron. Being then unloaded, she parted company, intending for Barbadoes, and there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers in the squadron took the opportunity of this ship, to write to their friends at home; but I have been informed she was taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th November, the captains of the squadron represented to the commodore, that their ships companies were very sickly; and that, both in their own opinions and of their surgeons, it would tend to the health of the men to let in more air between decks; but that the ships were so deep in the water, that the lower-deck ports could not possibly be opened. On this representation, the commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places as had least tendency to weaken them. On this occasion, I cannot but observe how much it is the duty of all who have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to the preservation of the lives and health of our seamen. If it could be supposed that motives of humanity were insufficient for this purpose, yet policy, a regard to the success of our arms, and the honour and interest of each individual commander, all should lead to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method proposed for preserving the health and vigour of seamen. But hath this been always done? Have the late invented, plain, and obvious methods for keeping our ships sweet and clean, by a constant supply of

of fresh air, been considered with that candour and temper which the great benefits they promise to produce ought naturally to have inspired? On the contrary, have not these salutary schemes been often treated with neglect and contempt? And have not some, who have been entrusted with experimenting their effects, been guilty of the most indefensible partiality in the accounts they have given of these trials? It must, however, be confessed, that many distinguished persons, both in the direction and command of our fleets, have exerted themselves on these occasions with a judicious and dispassionate examination, becoming the interesting nature of the enquiry: But the wonder is, that any one should have been found so irrational as to act a contrary part, in despite of the strongest dictates of prudence and humanity. I cannot, however, believe this conduct to have arisen from such savage motives as the first reflection seems naturally to suggest; but am apt rather to impute it to an obstinate, and, as it were, superstitious attachment to long-established practices, and to a settled contempt and hatred to all innovations, especially such as are projected by landsmen, or persons residing on shore.

We crossed the equinoctial, with a fine fresh gale at N.E. on Friday, the 28th November, at four in the morning, being thus, by estimation, in long. 27° 59′ W. from London. In the morning of the 2d December, we saw a sail in the N.W. and made the Gloucester's and Tryal's signals to chase; and half an hour after, let out our reefs, and chased with the rest of the squadron. About noon a signal was made for the Wager to take our remaining victualler, the Ann pink, in tow; but, at seven in the evening, finding we did not near the chase, and that the Wager was very far astern, we shortened sail, and recalled the chasing ships. Next day but one we again discovered a sail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the same vessel. We chased her the whole day, and though we rather gained upon her, night came on before we could overtake her, which obliged us to give over the chase, to collect the scattered squadron. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, supposing her to have been an advice-boat from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, sent to give notice of our expedition: But we have since learnt that it was our East-India Company's packet, bound to St Helena.

On the 10th December, being by our reckoning in lat. 20° S.

20° S. and long. 36° 30′ W. from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately tried, and found sixty fathoms, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The Tryal, which was a-head of us, had at one time thirty-seven fathoms, which afterwards increased to ninety, after which she had no bottom; which happened to us also at our second trial, though we sounded with a line of 150 fathoms. This is the shoal laid down in most charts by the name of the *Abrollos*,[1] and it appeared we were upon its verge; perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from sixty to ninety leagues east of the coast of Brazil. Next day but one we spoke a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro bound to *Bahia de todos los Santos*, by which we learnt that we were thirty-four leagues from Cape St Thomas, and forty from Cape Frio; which latter bore from us W. S. W. By our own accounts we were nearly eight leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brig, we altered our course, standing more southerly, yet, by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our own reckoning was more correct than that of the Portuguese. After passing lat. 16° S. we found a considerable current setting to the southward. The same took place all along the coast of Brazil, and even to the southward of the Rio Plata, amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles. If, as is most probable, this current be occasioned by the running off of the water which is accumulated on the coast of Brazil by the constant sweeping of the eastern trade-wind over the Ethiopic Ocean, it were then most natural to suppose that its general course must be determined by the bearings of the adjacent shores. Perhaps in every instance of currents the same may hold true, as I believe there are no examples of any considerable currents at any great distance from land. If this could be ascertained as a general principle, it might be easy by their assistance and the observed latitude, to correct the reckoning. But it were much to be wished, for the general interests of navigation, that the actual settings of the different currents in various parts of the world were examined more frequently and more accurately than appears to have been done hitherto.

We

[1] In the map of the world by Arrowsmith, the Abrolhos are made a cluster of islands off the coast of Brazil, in lat. 18° 10′ S. long. 39° W. from Greenwich.—E.

We began now to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who still continued in health. When we left St Helens, we were in so good a condition that we only lost two men in the Centurion in our long run to Madeira. But in this run, from Madeira to St Catharines, we were remarkably sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our ship and the others, and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general laboured under were those common to hot climates, and which most ships bound to the south experience in a greater or less degree. These were the fevers usually called *calentures*, a disease not only terrible in its first instance, but of which the remains often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered; for it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted with fluxes or tenesmus. By our continuance at sea all these complaints were every day increasing; so that it was with great joy we discovered the coast of Brazil on the 18th December, at seven in the morning.

The coast of Brazil appeared high and mountainous, extending from W. to W.S.W. and when we first saw it, the distance was about seventeen leagues. At noon we could perceive a low double land, bearing W.S.W. about ten leagues distant, which we took to be the island of St Catharines. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being N.N.W. we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to leeward of the island: But next day, a little before noon, the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the N. point of St Catharines and the neighbouring island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing from thirty-six to twelve fathoms, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water we let go our anchor at five in the evening of the 18th,[2] the N.W. part of St Catharines bearing S.S.W. three miles off; and the island of Alvoredo N.N.E. distant two leagues. Here we found the tide to set S.S.E. and N.N.W. at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the southward.

We could perceive from our ships two fortifications at a considerable

[2] There is an error in date here, as it has been already said they first got sight of the coast of Brazil on the 18th, obviously two days before. Hence, if the former date be right, this ought to be the 20th.—E.

considerable distance from us, which seemed intended to prevent the passage of an enemy between the island of St Catharines and the main. We could also soon see that our squadron had alarmed the coast, as the two forts hoisted their colours and fired several guns, signals, as we supposed, for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the commodore immediately sent an officer to compliment the governor, and to request a pilot to conduct our ships into the road. The governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and stood in, and the pilot came aboard of us about noon, and the same afternoon brought us to anchor in five and a half fathoms, in a commodious bay on the continent, called by the French Bon-port. From our last anchorage to this, we found every where an oozy bottom, the water first regularly decreasing to five fathoms, and then increasing to seven, after which we had five and six fathoms alternately. The squadron weighed again next morning, in order to run above the two fortifications formerly mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruiz and St Joam. Our soundings between the island and the main were four, five, and six fathoms, with muddy ground. We saluted the castle of Santa Cruiz in passing with eleven guns, and were answered with an equal number. At one in the afternoon of the 21st December, the squadron came to anchor in five fathoms and a half, Governor's Isle bearing N.N.W. St Joam's castle N.E. ½ E. and the island of St Antonio S. At this time the squadron was sickly, and in great want of refreshments, both of which we hoped to have speedily remedied at this settlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthiness and abundance of provisions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly assistance given here to all the ships of nations in amity with the crown of Portugal.

SECTION V.

Proceedings at St Catharines, and a Description of that Place, with a short Account of Brazil.

OUR first care after mooring the ships was to get our sick men on shore; preparatory for which each ship was ordered by the commodore to erect two tents, one for the reception of

of the sick, and the other for the surgeon and his assistants. We sent eighty sick on shore from the Centurion, and I believe the other ships sent as many in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as this necessary duty was performed, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing, then smoaked it between decks, and lastly washed every part with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for correcting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin; for, from the number of our men and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree, and, besides being most intolerably offensive, were doubtless in some sort productive of the sickness we had laboured under for a considerable time before our arrival at this island.[3]

Our next employment was wooding and watering the squadron, caulking the sides and decks of the ships, overhawling the rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in going round Cape Horn at so advanced and inconvenient a season. Before proceeding in the narrative of our voyage, it may be proper to give some account of the present state of the island of St Catharines and the neighbouring country; both because the circumstances of the place have materially changed from what they were in the time of former writers, and as these changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reason to expect, or than other British ships, bound hereafter to the South Sea, may perhaps think it prudent to struggle with.

This island is nine leagues from N. to S. and two from E. to W. It extends from lat. 27° 35′ to 28° both S. and is in long. 49° 45′ W. from London.[4] Although of considerable height, it is scarcely discernible at the distance of ten leagues, being obscured under the continent of Brazil, the mountains of which are exceedingly high; but on a nearer approach is easily distinguished, and may be readily known by having a number

[3] This matter is now infinitely better regulated in the British navy, and with most admirable and infinitely important advantages. By the most minute, sedulous, and perpetual attention to cleanliness, all noisome stench and all vermin are prevented, by which doubtless diseases are in a great measure lessened.—E.

[4] This account of the matter is very erroneous. The latitudes are between 28° 5′ and 28° 30′ both S. and the longitude is 49° 10′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

number of small islands at each end.[5] Frezier has given a draught of the island of St Catharines and the neighbouring coast, with the smaller adjacent isles; but has, by mistake, called the island of Alvoredo St Gal; whereas the true island of St Gal is seven or eight miles northward of Alvoredo, and much smaller. He has also called an island to the southward of St Catharines Alvoredo, and has omitted the island of Masaquara. In other respects his plan is sufficiently exact. The best entrance to the harbour is between the N.E. point of the island of St Catharines and the island of Alvoredo, where ships may pass under the guidance of the lead, without the least apprehensions of danger. The north entrance is about five miles broad, the distance from thence to the island of St Antonio is eight miles, and the course to that island is S.S.W. ½ W. About the middle of the island the harbour is contracted to a narrow channel by two points of land, not more than a quarter of a mile separate, and at this time a battery was erecting on the point on the island side to defend this passage. This seemed, however, a very useless work, as this channel had only two fathoms water, and is consequently only navigable for barks and boats, wherefore an enemy could have no inducement to attempt this passage, more especially as the northern one is so broad and safe that no squadron can be prevented from coming in by any fortifications whatever, when the sea-breeze makes. The brigadier Don Jose Sylva de Paz, who is governor of this settlement, has a different opinion; for, besides the above-mentioned battery, there were three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which were completed when we were there. The first of these, called St Joam, was building on a point of the island of St Catharines, near Parrot Island. The second, in form of a half-moon, was on the island of St Antonio; and the third, which seemed the chief, and had some appearance of a regular fortification, is on an island near the continent, where the governor resides. Don Jose Sylva de Paz was esteemed an expert engineer; and he doubtless understood one branch of his business very well, which is the advantages which new works bring to those who have charge of their erection.

The

[5] The more elaborate nautical description of this island is necessarily omitted, as referring to two extensive views, without which the description would be unintelligible.—E.

The soil of this island is truly luxuriant, producing many kinds of fruits spontaneously, and is covered over with one continued forest of trees, in perpetual verdure, and which, from the exuberant fertility of the soil, are so entangled with thorns, briars, and underwood, as to form an absolutely impenetrable thicket, except by some narrow paths which the inhabitants have opened for their own convenience; and these, with a few spots cleared for plantations, along that side of the island which faces the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with which they abound, and here the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive, almost without culture, and are to be had in great plenty, so that there is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, and plantains; there is also abundance of onions and potatoes, two productions of no small consideration for sea-stores. The flesh provisions are, however, much inferior to the vegetables. There are, indeed, small wild cattle to be purchased, something like buffaloes, but these are very indifferent food, their flesh being of a loose texture, and generally of a disagreeable flavour, probably owing to their feeding on wild calabash. There are also abundance of pheasants, but they are not to be compared in taste to those we have in England. The other provisions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and, above all, fish of various sorts: These abound in the harbour, and are both exceedingly good and easily caught, as there are numerous sandy bays, very convenient for haling the seyne.

The water, both on the island and the opposite continent, is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames. After it has been a day or two in the cask, it begins to purge itself, stinks most abominably, and is soon covered over with a green scum, which subsides in a few days to the bottom, leaving the water perfectly sweet, and as clear as crystal. The French first brought this place into repute during their South-Sea trade in the reign of Queen Anne, and usually wooded and watered in Bon-port, on the continental side of the harbour, where they anchored in great safety in six fathoms, and this is doubtless the most commodious station for ships that are meant only for a short stay. We watered on the St Catharine's side, at a plantation opposite to the island of St Antonio.

Such

Such are the advantages of this island; but it has its inconveniences also, partly proceeding from its climate, but more particularly from its new regulations and the form of its government, as lately established. In regard to the climate, it must be remembered that the woods and hills which surround the harbour prevent a free circulation of air, and the continual vigorous vegetation furnishes such a prodigious quantity of vapour, that a thick fog covers the whole country all night, and a great part of the morning, continuing till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate it, or it is dispersed by a bsisk sea-breeze. This renders the place close and humid, and probably occasioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. I must not omit to add, that we were pestered all day by vast numbers of mosquetoes, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but much more venomous in their stings. At sunset, when the musquetoes retired, they were succeeded by an infinity of sand-flies, which made a mighty buzzing, though scarcely discernable by the naked eye; wherever these bite, they raise a small lump attended by painful itching, like that arising from the bite of an English harvest bug. The only light in which this place deserves our consideration is its favourable situation for supplying and refreshing our cruizers bound for the South Sea, and in this view its greatest inconveniences remain to be related, to do which more distinctly, it may not be amiss to consider the changes which it has lately undergone, both in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of Frazier and Shelvocke, this place served only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled hither from all parts of Brazil. It is true, that they acknowledged their subjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a person among them whom they called their captain, and who was considered as a kind of governor; but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to the captain, were merely verbal; for, as they had plenty of provisions and no money, they were in a condition to support themselves without aid from any neighbouring settlements, and had nothing among them to tempt any neighbouring governor to interpose his authority among them. In this situation they were extremely hospitable and friendly to such foreign ships as came among them; for, as these ships wanted only provisions, of which the natives had great store, while the natives wanted clothes, for they often despised money, and refused to

 take

take it, the ships furnished them with apparel in exchange for their provisions, both sides finding their account in this traffic, and their captain had neither interest nor power to tax or restrain it.

Of late, for reasons which will afterwards appear, these honest vagabonds have been obliged to receive a new colony among them, and to submit to new laws and a new form of government. Instead of their former ragged and bare-legged captain, whom they took care, however, to keep innocent, they have now the honour of being governed by Don Jose Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal, who is accompanied by a garrison of soldiers, and has consequently a more extensive and better supported power than any of his predecessors: And as he wears better cloaths, lives more splendidly, and has a much better knowledge of the importance of money than any of them could ever pretend to, so he puts in practice certain methods for procuring it with which they were utterly unacquainted; yet it may be much doubted if the inhabitants consider these methods as tending to promote either their interests, or that of their sovereign, the king of Portugal. This much is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be extremely embarrassing to such British ships as touch here in their way to the South Seas.

One of his practices was, that he placed centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from selling us any refreshments, except at such exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary stretch of power was, that he was obliged to preserve their provisions for upwards of an hundred families, which were daily expected as a reinforcement to the colony. Thus he seems no novice in his profession, by his readiness at inventing a plausible pretence for his interested management. This circumstance, however, though sufficiently provoking, was far from being the most exceptionable part of his conduct; for, as by the neighbourhood of the Rio Plata, a considerable smuggling trade is carried on between the Portuguese and Spaniards, especially in exchanging gold for silver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and as Don Jose was deeply engaged in this prohibited commerce, in order to ingratiate himself with his Spanish correspondents, he treacherously dispatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our arrival, our strength, the number of our ships, guns, men, and every circumstance

he could suppose our enemy desirous of being acquainted with.

This much, and what we shall have to relate in the course of our own proceedings, may suffice as to the present state of St Catharines and the character of its governor. But as the reader may wish to know the reasons for the late new modelling of this settlement, it will require, to explain this circumstance, to give a short account of the adjacent continent of Brazil, and of the wonderful discoveries which have been made within the last forty years, which, from a country of but mean estimation, has rendered it now perhaps the most considerable colony on the face of the earth.

This country was first discovered by Americus Vesputio, a Florentine, who had the good fortune to be honoured by giving his name to the immense continent found out some time before by Columbus. As Vesputio was in the service of Portugal, this discovery was settled and planned by that nation, and afterwards devolved to the crown of Spain along with the rest of the Portuguese dominions. During the long war between Spain and the states of Holland, the Dutch possessed themselves of the northermost parts of Brazil, and kept it for some years; but, when the Portuguese revolted from the Spanish government, this country took part in the revolt, and the Dutch were soon driven out of their acquisitions; since which time it has continued without interruption under the crown of Portugal. Till the beginning of the present century, it was only productive of sugar and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little importance; but has been lately discovered to abound in the two mineral productions, gold and diamonds, which mankind hold in the highest estimation, and which they exercise their utmost art and industry in acquiring.

Gold was first found in the mountains adjacent to the city of Rio Janeiro. The occasion of its discovery is variously related, but the most common account is, that the Indians dwelling on the back of the Portuguese settlements were observed, by the soldiers employed in an expedition against them, to use this metal for fish-hooks; and, on enquiry into their manner of procuring this precious metal, it appeared that great quantities of it were annually washed from the hills, and left among the sand and gravel which remained in the vallies after the running off or evaporation of the water. It is now [in 1740] little more than forty years since any quantities

tities of gold, worth notice, have been imported from Brazil to Europe; but, since that time, the annual imports have been continually augmented by the discovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at first about Rio Janeiro. It is alleged that a *slender vein*[3] of gold spread through all the country, at about twenty-four feet below the surface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to answer the expence of digging.[4] However, where the rivers or rains have had any course for a considerable time, there gold is always to be collected, the water having separated the metal from the earth, and deposited it in the sands, thereby saving the expence of digging; hence it is esteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a stream from its channel, and ransack its bed. From this account of the manner of gathering gold, it should follow that there are no mines of this metal in Brazil, and this the governor of Rio Grande, who happened to be at St Catharines, and frequently visited Mr Anson, did most confidently affirm, assuring us that all the gold was collected from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed asserted that large rocks are found in the mountains abounding in gold, and I have seen a fragment of one of these rocks having a considerable lump of gold entangled in it; but, even in this case, the workmen only break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expence of subsisting among these mountains, and in afterwards separating the metal from the stone, occasions this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottom of rivers and beds of torrents, and the washing the gold there found, from the sand and dirt with which it is always mixed, are performed by slaves, who are principally negroes, kept in great numbers by the Portuguese for this purpose. The regulation of the duty of these slaves is singular, as they are each of them obliged to furnish their master with the eighth part of an ounce of gold daily.[5] If

[3] The author ought here to have said, *a thin layer*, or *stratum*, to express the obvious meaning intended in the text.—E.

[4] The editor was informed, many years ago, by an intelligent native of Rio Janeiro, that the search for gold is confined by law to certain districts, on purpose to secure the royal fifth; and that all over the country round Rio Janeiro, where the search is prohibited, gold, emeralds, and aqua-marines are found in small quantities, on every occasion of digging to any depth into the earth, as for the purpose of a pit-well.—E.

[5] On the data of the text, and allowing sixty-five days in the year for

If they are either so fortunate or industrious as to collect a greater quantity, the surplus becomes their own property, and they may dispose of it as they think fit; so that some negroes, who have accidentally fallen upon rich washing-places, are said to have themselves purchased slaves, and to have lived afterwards in great splendour, their original master having no other demand upon them than the daily supply of the before-mentioned eighths; which, as the Portuguese ounce is somewhat lighter than our troy ounce, may amount to about nine shillings sterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the Brazils and returned annually to Lisbon, may be estimated, in some degree, from the amount of the royal fifth. This has been of late computed, one year with another, at one hundred and fifty *aroues*, of thirty-two Portuguese pounds each, which, valued at L. 4 sterling the troy ounce, make very nearly three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and consequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half sterling. It is obvious that the annual return of gold to Lisbon cannot be less than this, though it may be difficult to guess how much more it may be. Perhaps we may not be much mistaken in conjecturing that the gold exchanged with the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres for silver, and what is privately brought to Europe without paying the duty, may amount to near half a million more, which will make the entire yearly produce of Brazilian gold nearly two millions sterling; a prodigious sum to be found in a country which only a few years since was not known to furnish a single grain.

Besides gold, this country also affords diamonds, as already mentioned. The discovery of these valuable stones is much more recent even than that of gold, as it is scarcely twenty years since the first were brought to Europe.[6] They are found in the same manner as gold, in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and by no means so universally spread throughout the country. They were often found while washing for gold, before they were known to be diamonds, and were consequently thrown away along with the sand and gravel; and it is well remembered that numbers of very large stones, which would have made the

Sundays and high festivals, the yearly profit of one slave to his master would be L. 135 sterling.—E.

[6] The author writes as of the year 1740.—E.

the fortunes of the possessors, have passed unregarded through the hands of those who now impatiently support the mortifying reflection. However, about twenty years since, [that is, in 1720,] a person acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds, conceived that these pebbles, as they were then called, were of the same kind; yet it is said there was a considerable interval between the first stating of this opinion and its confirmation, by proper examination, as it was difficult to persuade the inhabitants that what they had been long accustomed to despise, could be of such amazing importance; and in this interval, as I was told, a governor of one of these places procured a good number of these stones, which he pretended to make use of as markers at cards. The truth of the discovery was at last confirmed by skilful jewellers in Europe, who were consulted on the occasion, and who declared that these Brazilian pebbles were true diamonds, many of which were not inferior in lustre, or other qualities, to those of the East Indies. On this being made known, the Portuguese in the neighbourhood of the places where these had been first discovered, set themselves to search for diamonds with great assiduity, and were hopeful of discovering them in considerable quantities, as they found large rocks of crystal in many of the mountains whence the streams proceeded that washed down the diamonds.

Soon after this discovery, it was represented to the king of Portugal, that if diamonds should be met with in such abundance as their sanguine expectations seemed to indicate, their value and estimation would be so debased as to ruin all the Europeans who had any quantity of East India diamonds in their possession, and would even render the discovery itself of no importance, and prevent his majesty from deriving any advantages from it. On these considerations, his majesty thought proper to restrain the general search for diamonds, and erected a diamond company, with an exclusive charter for this purpose; in which company, in consideration of a sum of money paid to the king, the property of all diamonds found in Brazil is vested: But, to hinder them from collecting too large quantities, and thereby reducing their value in the market, they are prohibited from employing above eight hundred slaves in this search. To prevent any of his other subjects from continuing the search, and to secure the company against interlopers, a large town, and considerable surrounding district, has been depopulated; and all

all the inhabitants, said to have amounted to six thousand, have been obliged to remove to another part of the country: For as this town and district were in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impossible to prevent such a number of people from frequently smuggling, if allowed to reside on the spot.

In consequence of these important discoveries in Brazil, new laws, new governments, and new regulations, have been established in many parts of the country. Not long ago there was a considerable track of country possessed by a set of inhabitants called Paulists, from the name of their principal settlement, who were almost independent of the crown of Portugal, to which it scarcely ever acknowledged a nominal allegiance. These Paulists are said to be descendants from the Portuguese who retired from the northern part of Brazil when it was invaded and possessed by the Dutch. Being long neglected by their superiors, owing to the confusions of the times, and obliged to provide for their own security and defence, the necessity of their affairs produced a kind of government among themselves, which sufficed for their mode of life. Thus habituated to their own regulations, they became fond of independence, so that, rejecting the mandates of the court of Lisbon, they were often engaged in a state of downright rebellion; and, owing to the mountains surrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few passes leading towards it, they were generally able to make their own terms before they submitted. But as gold was found in this country of the Paulists, the present king of Portugal, in whose reign almost all these great discoveries have been made, thought it necessary to reduce this province, now become of great importance, under the same dependence and obedience with the rest of the country, which was at length effected, though, as I was informed, with great difficulty.

The same motives which induced his majesty to reduce the Paulists, have also occasioned the changes which I have mentioned as having taken place at the island of St Catharines: For, as we were assured by the governor of Rio Grande, there are considerable rivers in this neighbourhood that are found to be extremely rich in gold, for which reason a military governor with a garrison have been placed here, along with a new colony; and, as the harbour at this island is by much the largest and most secure of any on the coast, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood

hood answer their present expectation, that it may become in time the principal settlement in Brazil, and the most considerable port in all South America.

This much I thought necessary to insert, in relation to the present state of Brazil and of the island of St Catharines; for, as this last place has been generally recommended as the most eligible place for our cruizers to refresh at when bound to the South Sea, I believed it to be my duty to instruct my countrymen in the hitherto unsuspected inconveniences which attend that place. And, as the Brazilian gold and diamonds are subjects of novelty, of which very few particulars have hitherto been published, I considered that the account I have been able to collect respecting them might not be regarded either a trifling or useless digression.

When we first arrived at St Catharines, we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, in cleaning our ships, and in examining and securing our masts and rigging, as formerly mentioned. At the same time Mr Anson gave orders that the ships companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and have a full allowance of all kinds of provisions. In consequence of these orders we had fresh meat sent on board continually for our daily expenditure; and every thing else that was wanting to make up our allowances, was received from the Anna Pink, our victualler, in order to preserve the provisions on board the ships of the squadron as entire as possible for future service. As the season of the year grew every day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr Anson was very anxious to leave St Catharines as soon as possible, and we were at first in hopes that all our business would be concluded, and we should be in readiness to sail, in about a fortnight from our arrival; but, on examining the masts of the Tryal, we found, to our no small vexation, inevitable employment for twice that time; for, on a survey, her main-mast was sprung at the upper woulding, though that was thought capable of being secured by means of two fishes; but the fore-mast was reported entirely unfit for service, on which the carpenters were sent into the woods in search of a stick proper for a new fore-mast. After a search of four days, nothing could be found fit for the purpose; wherefore, on a new consultation, it was agreed to endeavour to secure the mast by three fishes, in which work the carpenters were employed till within a day

day or two of our departure. In the meantime, thinking it necessary to have a clean vessel, on our arrival in the South Sea, the commodore ordered the Tryal to be hove down, which occasioned no loss of time, as it might be completed while the carpenters were refitting her masts on shore.

A sail being discovered in the offing on the 27th December, and not knowing but she might be Spanish, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her before she got within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande; and, though our officer behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and even refused to accept a calf which the master pressed him to accept, the governor took great offence at the sending our boat, talking of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We thus attributed this blustering to no deeper cause than the natural insolence of Don Jose; but when he charged our officer with behaving rudely, and attempting to take by violence the calf which he had refused as a present, we had reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important objects in view than the mere captiousness of his temper. What these motives might be we had then no means of determining, or even guessing at; but we afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands when in the South-Seas, that he had dispatched an express to Pizarro, who then lay in the Rio Plata, with an account of our arrival at St Catharines, together with a most ample and circumstantial account of our force and condition. We then conceived, that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour on purpose to prevent us from visiting the brigantine when she should go away again, lest we might have found proofs of his perfidy, and perhaps have discovered the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring governors, and with the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres.

It was near a month before the Tryal was refitted; for not only were her lower-masts defective, but her main-top-mast and fore-yard were likewise found rotten. While this work was going on, the other ships of the squadron set up new standing-rigging, together with a sufficient number of preventer shrowds to each mast, to secure them in the most effectual manner. Also, in order to render the ships stiffer,

to

to enable them to carry more sail abroad, and to prevent them from straining their upper works in hard gales of wind, the several captains were ordered to put some of their great guns into their holds. These precautions being complied with, and all the ships having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at last completed, and the whole squadron was ready for sea: On which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick removed on board. We had here a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place was over-rated by former writers; for, though the Centurion had alone buried no less than twenty-eight of her men since our arrival, yet, in the same interval, the number of her sick had increased from eighty to ninety-six.

All being embarked, and every thing prepared for our departure, the commodore made the signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of Chili. Next day, being the 18th of January, 1741, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea; leaving this island of St Catharines without regret, as we had been extremely disappointed in our accommodations and expectations of refreshment, and in the humane and friendly offices we had been taught to look for, in a place so much celebrated for its hospitality, freedom, and convenience.

Section VI.

The Run from St Catharines to Port St Julian; with some Account of that Port, and of the Country to the South of the Rio Plata.

In quitting St Catharines, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to a hostile, or at best a desert and inhospitable coast. As we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would by this means be much augmented, but other accidents of a more mischievous nature were also to be apprehended, and as much as possible provided against. Mr Anson, therefore, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had

considered

considered that his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost, and gave therefore proper directions, that, even in that case, the expedition might not be abandoned. The orders delivered to the captains, the day before sailing from St Catharines, were, in case of separation, which they were to endeavour to avoid with the utmost care, that the first place of rendezvous was to be Port St Julian, describing the place from Sir John Narborough's account of it. They were there to provide as much salt as they could take on board, both for their own use and that of the other ships of the squadron; and, if not joined by the commodore after a stay of ten days, they were then to pass through the straits of Le Maire and round Cape Horn into the South-Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of Nostra Senora del Socoro, in lat. 45° S. long. 71° 12′ W. from the Lizard.[1] They were to bring this island to bear E.N.E. and to cruize from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit, both of which they were directed to expend with the utmost frugality. When under the necessity of procuring a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find an anchorage; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply the ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of Juan Fernandez in lat. 33° 37′ S. at which island, after recruiting their wood and water, they were to cruize off the anchorage for fifty-six days; and, if not joined by the commodore in that time, they were to conclude that some accident had befallen him, and were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavour to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. In this view, the new commander was urged to continue in these seas as long as provisions lasted, or as they could be supplied by what could be taken from the enemy, reserving only a sufficiency to carry the ships to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton on the coast of China; whence, being supplied with a new stock of provisions, they were to make the best of their way to England. As it was found still impossible

[1] The centre of the island of Socoro, or Guayteca, on the western coast of Patagonia, is in lat. 45° 10′ S. and long. 73° 40′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

sible to unload the Anna Pink, our victualler, the commodore gave her master instructions for the same rendezvouses, and similar orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior officer.

Under these orders, the squadron sailed from St Catharines on Sunday the 18th of January, 1741. Next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it soon cleared up again, with light breezes, and continued so to the evening of the 21st, when it again blew fresh, and, increasing all night, it became a most violent storm by next morning, accompanied by so thick a fog that it was impossible for us to see to the distance of two ships lengths, and we consequently lost sight of all the squadron. On this a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being due east. We in the Centurion handed the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed-mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron, except the Pearl, which did not join till near a month afterwards. The Tryal was a great way to leeward, having lost her main-mast in the squall, and having been obliged to cut away the wreck, for fear of bilging. We therefore bore down with the squadron to her relief, and the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow, as the weather did not entirely abate till next day, and even then a great swell continued from the eastward, in consequence of the preceding storm. After this accident we continued to the southward with little interruption, finding the same setting of the current we had observed before our arrival at St Catharines; that is, we generally found ourselves about twenty miles to the southward of our reckoning by the log every day. This, with some inequality, lasted till we had passed the latitude of the Rio Plata, and even then the same current, however difficult to be accounted for, undoubtedly continued; for we were not satisfied in attributing this appearance to any error in our reckoning, but tried it more than once, when a calm rendered it practicable.

Immediately on getting to the south of the latitude of the Rio Plata we had soundings, which continued all along the coast of Patagonia. These soundings, when well ascertained, being of great use in determining the position of a ship on this coast, and as we tried them more frequently, in greater

greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe had ever been done before, I shall recite our observations on this subject as succinctly as I can. In lat. 36° 52′ S. we had 60 fathoms on a bottom of fine black and grey sand: From thence to 39° 55′ S. we varied our depths from 50 to 80 fathoms, but always with the same bottom: Between the last-mentioned latitude and 43° 16′ S. we had only fine grey sand with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened the water to 40 fathoms. After this we continued in 40 fathoms for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land at not above seven leagues distance. As we edged from the land we had a variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after rough ground with stones: But when we had increased our depth to forty-eight fathoms, we had a muddy bottom to the lat. of 46° 10′ S. Hence drawing near the shore, we had at first thirty-six fathoms, and still kept shoaling till we came into twelve fathoms, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom.

Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, in about lat. 47° 10′ S. and long. 69° W. from London.[2] Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we deepened our water to fifty fathoms in a run of about thirty leagues, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the shore, with a S.W. course, varying rather westward, we had constantly a sandy bottom till we came to thirty fathoms, when we had again a sight of land in about lat. 48° 31′ S. We made this land on the 17th February, and came to anchor at five that afternoon in lat. 48° 58′ S. with the same soundings as before; the southermost land then in view bearing S.S.W. the northermost N.½E. a small island N.W. and the westermost hummock W.S.W. At this anchorage we found the tide to set S. by W.

We weighed anchor at five next morning, and an hour afterwards descried a sail, which was soon found to be the Pearl, which had separated from us a few days after leaving St Catharines. Yet she increased her sail and stood away from the Gloucester; and when she came up, the people of the

2 Cape Blanco is in lat. 47° 20′ S. long. 64° 30′ W. from Greenwich. At this place, instead of a description of Cape Blanco, the original gives two views of the coast in different directions, as seen from sea; here omitted for reasons already assigned.—E.

the Pearl had their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. The Pearl joined us about two in the afternoon, and running up under our stern, Lieutenant Salt informed the commodore that Captain Kidd had died on the 31st of January. He likewise said that he had seen five large ships on the 10th of this month, which he for some time imagined had been our squadron, insomuch that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pendant exactly resembling that of our commodore at the main top-mast head, to come within gun-shot of the Pearl before he discovered the mistake; but then, finding it was not the Centurion, he haled close upon a wind and crowded from theirs with all sail; and standing across a rippling, where they hesitated to follow, he happily escaped. He had made them out to be five Spanish ships of war, one of which was so exceedingly like the Gloucester that he was under great apprehension when chased now by the Gloucester. He thought they consisted of two seventy-gun ships, two of fifty, and one of forty; the whole of which squadron chased him all that day, but at night, finding they could not get near, they gave over the chase and stood away to the southward.

Had we not been under the necessity of refitting the Tryal, this intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St Julians; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round Cape Horn in her present condition, some stay there became inevitable; and therefore we came to an anchor again the same evening in twenty-five fathoms, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, a high hummock bearing from us S.W. by W. Weighing at nine next morning, we sent the cutters of the Centurion and Severn in shore to discover the harbour of St Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast about a league from the land. At six in the evening we anchored in the bay of St Julian, in nineteen fathoms, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northermost land in sight bearing N. by E. the southermost S.½E. and the high hummock, called Wood's Mount by Sir John Narborough, W.S.W. The cutters returned soon after, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us where we lay, the northermost point shutting in upon the southermost, and closing the entrance in appearance.

Our principal object in coming to anchor in this bay was to refit the Tryal, in which business the carpenters were immediately employed. Her main-mast had been carried away about

about twelve feet below the cap, but they contrived to make the remainder of the mast serve. The Wager was directed to supply her with a spare main-top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the Tryal's masts, which gave us so much uneasiness at the time on account of the delay it occasioned, was the means, in all probability, of preserving this sloop and all her crew. For her masts before this were much too lofty for the high southern latitudes we were proceeding into, so that, if they had weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against the seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn; and the loss of masts, in that boisterous climate, would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel and all on board, as it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any assistance whatever, during the continuance of these impetuous storms.

While at this place, the commodore appointed the honourable Captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and Captain Cheap to the Wager. He promoted Mr Charles Saunders, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to the command of the Tryal sloop; but, as Mr Saunders lay dangerously ill of a fever in the Centurion, and the surgeons considered his removal to his own ship might hazard his life, Mr Saumarez had orders to act as commander of the Tryal during the illness of Captain Saunders.

At this place, the commodore held a consultation with his captains about unloading and discharging the Anna pink; but they represented that, so far from being in a condition for taking her loading on board, their ships still had great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ships were so deep and so lumbered that they would not be fit for action without being cleared. It was therefore necessary to retain the pink in the service; and, as it was apprehended that we should meet with the Spanish squadron in passing the cape, Mr Anson ordered all the provisions that were in the way of the guns to be put on board the Anna pink, and that all the guns which had been formerly lowered into the holds, for the ease of the ships, should be remounted.

As this bay and harbour of St Julian is a convenient rendezvous, in case of separation, for all cruizers bound to the southwards, or to any part of the coast of Patagonia, from the

the Rio Plata to the Straits of Magellan, as it lies nearly parallel to their usual route, a short account of the singularity of this country, with a particular description of Port St Julian, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators, as some of them, by unforeseen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land and to make some stay on this coast; in which case a knowledge of the country, and of its productions and inhabitants, cannot fail to be of the utmost consequence to them.

The tract of country usually called Patagonia, or that southern portion of South America, not possessed by the Spaniards, extends from their settlements to the Straits of Magellan. This country on its eastern side, along the Atlantic ocean, from the Rio Plata southwards, is remarkable for having no trees of any kind, except a few peach trees planted by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres; so that the whole eastern coast of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues from north to south, and as far back into the interior as any discoveries have yet been made, contains nothing that can be called by the name of wood, and only a few insignificant shrubs in some places. Sir John Narborough, who was sent out expressly by Charles II. to examine this country, wintered upon this coast in Port St Julian and Port Desire, in the year 1670, and declares that he did not see a stick in the whole country large enough to make the handle of a hatchet. But, although this country be destitute of wood, it abounds in pasture, as the whole land seems made up of downs of a light dry and gravelly soil, producing great quantities of long grass, which grows in tufts, interspersed with large spots of barren gravel. In many places this grass feeds immense herds of cattle, all derived from a few European cattle brought over by the Spaniards at their first settling, which have thriven and multiplied prodigiously, owing to the abundance of herbage which they every where met with, and are now so increased and extended so far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not considered as private property; thousands of them being slaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow.

The manner of killing these cattle, being peculiar to that part of the world, merits a circumstantial description. Both Spaniards and Indians in that country are usually most excellent horsemen; and accordingly the hunters employed on this occasion are all mounted on horseback, armed with a kind of spear, which, instead of the usual point or blade in the

the same line with the shaft, has its blade fixed across. Armed with this instrument, they ride at a beast and surround him, when the hunter that is behind hamstrings him, so that he soon falls, and is unable to rise from the ground, where they leave him and proceed against others, whom they serve in the same manner. Sometimes there is a second party attending the hunters, on purpose to skin the cattle as they fall; but it is said that the hunters sometimes prefer to leave them to languish in torment till next day, from an opinion that the lengthened anguish bursts the lymphatics, and thereby facilitates the separation of the skin from the carcass. Their priests have loudly condemned this most barbarous practice, and have even gone so far, if my memory do not deceive me, as to excommunicate such as persist to follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire stop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Besides great numbers of cattle which are slaughtered every year in this manner, for their hides and tallow, it is often necessary, for the uses of agriculture, and for other purposes, to catch them alive, and without wounding them. This is performed with a most wonderful and most incredible dexterity, chiefly by means of an implement or contrivance which the English who have resided at Buenos Ayres usually denominate a lash. This consists of a very strong thong of raw hide, several fathoms in length, with a running noose at one end. This the hunter, who is on horseback, takes in his right hand, being properly coiled up, and the other end fastened to the saddle: Thus prepared, the hunters ride at a herd of cattle, and when arrived within a certain distance of a beast, they throw their thong at him with such exactness, that they never fail to fix the noose about his horns. Finding himself thus entangled, the beast usually endeavours to run away, but the hunter attends his motions, and the horse being swifter, the thong is prevented from being so much straitened as to break, till another hunter throws another noose about one of his hind-legs. When this is done, the horses being trained to the sport, instantly turn in opposite directions, straining the two thongs contrary ways, by which the beast is overthrown. The horses then stop, keeping both thongs on the stretch, so that the beast remains on the ground incapable of resistance; and the two hunters alight from their horses and secure the beast in such a manner that they afterwards easily convey him to wherever they please.

They catch horses by means of similar nooses, and are even said to catch tigers in the same manner, which, however strange it may appear, is asserted by persons of credit. It must be owned, indeed, that the address both of Spaniards and Indians in this part of the world, in the use of this lash or noose, and the certainty with which they throw and fix it on any intended part of a beast, even at a considerable distance, is so wonderful as only to be credited and repeated on the concurrent testimony of all who have frequented this country. The cattle killed in the before-mentioned manner are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, and sometimes their tongues also are taken out; but the rest of the flesh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by birds of prey and wild beasts. The greatest part of it falls to the share of the wild-dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in the country. These are all supposed to be descended of Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres, which had left their masters, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and had run wild where they had such facility of subsisting, for they are plainly of the European breed of dogs. Although these dogs are said to prowl in vast packs, even some thousands together, they do not diminish the number, nor prevent the increase of the cattle, as they dare not attack the herds, by reason of the vast numbers that feed together, but content themselves with the carrion left by the hunters, and perhaps now and then meet with a few stragglers, separated accidentally from the herds to which they belong.

This country, to the southward of Buenos Ayres, is also stocked with great numbers of wild-horses, brought also originally from Spain, and prodigiously increased, and extending to a much greater distance than the cattle. Though many of these are excellent, their numbers make them of very little value, the best of them being sold in the neighbouring settlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a piece. It is not certain how far to the southwards these herds of wild cattle and horses extend; but there is reason to believe that stragglers of both are to be met with very near the Straits of Magellan, and they will doubtless in time fill all the southern part of the continent with their breeds, which cannot fail to be of vast advantage to such ships as may touch on the coast. The horses are said to be very good eating, and are even preferred by some of the Indians before the cattle. But however plentiful

plentiful Patagonia may hereafter become in regard to flesh, this eastern coast of that extensive country seems very defective in regard to fresh water; for as the land is generally of a nitrous and saline nature, the ponds and streams are frequently brackish. However, as good water has been found, though in small quantities, it is not improbable but this inconvenience may be removed, on a farther search.

There are also in all parts of this country a good number of *Vicennas*, or Peruvian sheep, but these, by reason of their swiftness, are very difficultly killed. On the eastern coast, also, there are immense quantities of seals, and a vast variety of sea-fowl, among which the most remarkable are the penguins. These are, in size and shape, like a goose, but have short stumps like fins instead of wings, which are of no use to them except when in the water. Their bills are narrow, like that of the albatross, and they stand and walk quite erect, from which circumstance, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough has whimsically likened them to little children standing up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eastern coast, to which hitherto I confine my observations, appear to be but few, and rarely have more than two or three of them been seen at a time by any ships that have touched here. During our stay at Port St Julian we did not see any. Towards Buenos Ayres, however, they are sufficiently numerous, and are very troublesome to the Spaniards: But there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them greater conveniences. In that part the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, while at Port St Julian it is little more than one hundred. I conceive, therefore, that the same Indians who frequent the western coast of Patagonia, and the northern shore of the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this eastern side. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres are more numerous than those farther south, they also greatly excel them in spirit and activity, and seem nearly allied in their manners to the gallant Chilese Indians, [Araucanians] who have long set the whole Spanish power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. The Indians about Buenos Ayres have learned to be excellent horsemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are exceedingly solicitous to keep from them. Of the vigour and resolution

resolution of these Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, formerly mentioned, is a memorable instance.

This much may suffice respecting the eastern coast of Patagonia. The western coast is of less extent; and, by reason of the Andes which skirt it, and stretch quite down to the sea side, the shore is very rocky and dangerous. As I shall hereafter have occasion to take farther notice of that coast, I shall not enlarge any farther respecting it in this place, but shall conclude this account with a short description of the harbour of St Julian, the general form of which may be conceived from the annexed sketch. It must however be noticed, that the bar there marked at the entrance has many holes in it, and is often shifting. The tide flows here N. and S. and at full and change rises four fathoms. On our first arrival, an officer was sent on shore to the salt pond marked D. in the sketch, in order to procure a quantity of salt for the use of the squadron; for Sir John Narborough had observed, when he was here, that the salt was very white and good, and that in February there was enough to have loaded a thousand ships. But our officer returned with a sample which was very bad, and said that even of this very little was to be had: I suppose the weather had been more rainy this year than ordinary, and had destroyed the salt, or prevented its fermentation.

Section VII.

Departure from the Bay of St Julian, and Passage from thence to the Straits of Le Maire.

The Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay, and sole occasion of our stay, the commodore thought it necessary to fix the plan of his first operations, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas and the enemy's coasts; and therefore, on the 24th February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion. There were present on this occasion the Honourable Edward Legg, Captain Matthew Mitchell, the Honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, and Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land-forces. At this council, it was proposed by Commodore Anson, that their first attempt, after arriving

ving in the South Seas, should be against the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier place in the south of Chili, informing them, as an inducement for this enterprize, that it formed part of his majesty's instructions to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. The council readily and unanimously agreed to this proposal; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were issued to the captains, by which, though still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the island of Socoro, they were only to cruize off that island for ten days; from whence, if not then joined by the commodore, they were to proceed off Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of 40° and 40° 30′ S. and taking care to keep to the southward of the port. If not there joined in fourteen days by the rest of the squadron, they were then to direct their course for the island of Juan Fernandez; after which they were to regulate their farther proceedings by the former orders given out at St Catharines. The same orders were also given to the master of the Anna pink, who was enjoined to answer and obey the signals made by any ship of the squadron, in absence of the commodore; and, if he should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy, he was directed to destroy his orders and papers with the utmost care. Likewise, as the separation of the squadron might prove highly prejudicial to the service, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the respective officers of the watch, on all occasions, never to keep their respective ships at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, as they should answer at their peril; and if any captain should find his ship beyond the specified distance, he was to acquaint the commodore with the name of the officer who thus neglected his duty.

These necessary regulations established, and the repairs of the Tryal sloop completed, the squadron weighed from Port St Julians on Friday the 27th February, 1741, at seven in the morning, and stood to sea. The Gloucester found such difficulty in endeavouring to purchase her anchor, that she was left a great way astern, so that we fired several guns in the night as signals for her to make more sail: But she did not rejoin us till next morning, when we learnt that she had been obliged to cut her cable, leaving her best bower anchor behind. At ten in the morning of the 28th, Wood's Mount, the

the high land over Port St Julian, bore from us N. by W. distant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathoms water. Standing now to the southward, we had great expectations of falling in with the Spanish squadron under Pizarro; as, during our stay at Port St Julian, there had generally been hard gales between W.N.W. and S.W. so that we had reason to conclude that squadron had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed, it was the prospect of meeting them that had occasioned our commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships; for, had he been solely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the most proper method for this purpose would have been, to order each ship to make the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

From the time of leaving Port St Julian to the 4th March, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather and some rain, and our soundings were generally from forty to fifty fathoms, with a bottom of black and gray sand, sometimes mixed with pebble stones. On the 4th March we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant, the northern boundary of the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan, in lat. 52° 21′ S. long. 71° 44′ W. from London.[1] It seemed a low flat land, ending in a point.[2] Off this cape the depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathoms. The afternoon of this day was bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, inclining to a calm; and most of the captains took the opportunity of this fine weather to visit the commodore. While all were on board the Centurion, they were greatly alarmed by a sudden flame bursting out in the Gloucester, followed by a cloud of smoke; but were soon relieved of their apprehensions, by receiving information that the blast had been occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge lighting on some gun-powder, and other combustibles, which an officer was preparing for use, in case of falling in with the Spanish squadron, and which had exploded without any damage to the ship.

We here found, what was constantly the case in these high southern

[1] The longitude of Cape Virgin Mary, is only 67° 42′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

[2] By the draught in the original, omitted here for substantial reasons already repeatedly stated, the coast at this southern extremity of Patagonia is represented as a high bluff flat on the top, and ending abruptly at this cape.—E.

southern latitudes, that fair weather was always of exceedingly short continuance, and that when remarkably fine it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm: For the calm and sunshine of this afternoon ended in a most tubulent night; the wind freshening from the S.W. as the night came on, and increasing continually in violence till nine next morning. It then blew so hard that we were forced to bring to with the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-seven fathoms water on black sand and gravel; and, by an observation we had at noon, we concluded that a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Toward midnight the wind abated, and we again made sail, steering S. In the morning we discovered the southern land beyond the Straits of Magellan, called Terra del Fuego, stretching from S. by W. S.E.½E. This country afforded a very uncomfortable prospect, appearing of stupendous height, every where covered with snow, and shewing at its southern extremity the entrance into the Straits of Le Maire at Cape St Diego.[3] We steered along this uncouth and rugged coast all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathoms, on stones and gravel.

Intending to pass through the straits of Le Maire next day, we lay to at night that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate in which we were soon to be engaged, with which view we were employed good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight saw land, and soon after began to open the straits, at which time Cape St Diego bore E.S.E. Cape St Vincent S.E ½E. the middlemost of the Three Brothers, hills so called on Terra del Fuego S. by W. Montegorda, a high land up the country appearing over the Three Brothers, S. and Cape St Bartholomew, the southermost point of Staten Land, E.S.E. I must observe here that, though Frezier has given a very correct view of that part of Terra del Fuego which borders on these straits to the westwards, he has omitted the draught of Staten Land, which forms the opposite shore of these straits, whence

[3] The western side of the entrance into the Straits of Le Maire is formed by the Capes of St Vincent and St Diego; the former in lat. 54° 30′, the latter in 54° 40′, both S. and long. 65° 40′ W.

whence we found it difficult to determine exactly where the straits lay until they began to open upon our view; and hence, had we not coasted a considerable way along the shore of Terra del Fuego, we might have missed the straits, and have gone to the eastward of Staten Land before discovering it. This has happened to many ships; particularly, as mentioned by Frezier, to the Incarnation and Concord, which, intending to pass through the Straits of Le Maire, were deceived by three hills on Staten Land, and some creeks, resembling the Three Brothers and coves of Terra del Fuego, so that they overshot the straits.

Though Terra del Fuego presented an aspect exceedingly barren and desolate, yet this island of Staten Land far surpasses it in the wildness and horror of its appearance, seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the smallest apparent admixture of earth or mould, upon or between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of rugged points, which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all covered with everlasting snow; their pointed summits or pinnacles being every way surrounded by frightful precipices, and often overhanging in a most astonishing manner. The hills which are crowned by the rugged rocks, are generally separated from each other by narrow clifts, appearing as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks almost to their bases; so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy than the whole aspect of this coast.

Having opened the Straits of Le Maire on the morning of the 7th March, as before mentioned, the Pearl and Tryal, about ten o'clock, were ordered to keep a-head of the squadron and lead the way. We accordingly entered the straits with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these straits are often esteemed the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we presumed that we had nothing now before us but an open sea, till we should arrive on the opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centered, we could not help flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulty of our voyage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were on the point of being realized. We indulged ourselves, therefore, in the romantic imaginations which the

fancied

fancied possession of the gold of Chili and silver of Peru might readily be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were considerably heightened, by the brightness of the sky and serenity of the weather, which indeed were both most remarkably delightful: For, though the antarctic winter was now advancing with hasty strides, the morning of this day, in mildness and even brilliancy, gave place to none that we had seen since our departure from England. Thus, animated by these flattering delusions, we passed those memorable straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities then impending, and ready to burst upon us; ignorant that the moment was fast approaching when our squadron was to be separated, never again to unite; and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us was ever to enjoy in this world.

SECTION VIII.

Course from the Straits of Le Maire to Cape Noir.

WE had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits of Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were almost instantly changed to the apprehension of immediate destruction. Even before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the straits, the serenity of the sky was suddenly obscured, and we observed all the presages of an impending storm. The wind presently shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls that we had to hand our top-sails and reef our main-sail; while the tide, which had hitherto favoured us, turned furiously adverse, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for the Wager and Anna pink, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they might be dashed to pieces upon the shore of Staten Land; nor were our apprehensions without foundation, as they weathered that coast with the utmost difficulty. Instead of pursuing our intended course to the S.W. the whole squadron was now drifted to the eastward, by the united force of the storm and current; so that next morning we found ourselves nearly seven leagues eastward of the straits, which then bore from us N.W.

The violence of the current, which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the fierceness and

and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for all our efforts; though some among us had so lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have encountered in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to have arisen from timidity and unskilfulness, rather than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas. But we were now convinced, from severe experience, that these censures were rash and ill founded; for the distresses with which we struggled during the three succeeding months, will not be easily paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition; which, I doubt not, will be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From this storm, which came on before we were well clear of the straits of Le Maire, we had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, when compared with those winds we now encountered; which raised such short, and at times such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in other parts of the globe, and, not without reason, this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for, had any one of these waves broken fairly over us, it must almost inevitably have sent us instantly to the bottom. Neither did we escape with terror only: for the ship, rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent jerking motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks and sides of the ship; and, though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves against these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their holds, some of whom were actually killed, and others greatly injured. In particular, one of our best seamen was canted overboard and drowned; another dislocated his neck; a third was thrown down the main hatchway into the hold and broke his thigh; one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other similar accidents.

These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstances, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and by the deceitful intervals that at times occurred; for, although

we

we had often to lie-to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequently reduced to drive at the mercy of the winds and waves under bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail under double-reefed courses; and occasionally, the weather proving more moderate, were perhaps encouraged to set our top-sails; after which, without any previous notice, the wind would return with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And, that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggravate our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging in ice, and froze our sails, rendering them and our cordage so brittle as to tear and snap with the least strain; adding thereby great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the hands and limbs of our people, and rendering them incapable of exerting themselves with their accustomed activity, and even disabling many of them, by inducing mortification of their toes and fingers. It were, indeed, endless to enumerate the various disasters of different kinds which befel us, and I shall only mention the most material, which will sufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole squadron, during this part of our navigation.

As already observed, it was on the 7th of March that we passed the Straits of Le Maire, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eastwards, by a violent storm, and by the force of the current setting in that direction. During the four or five succeeding days, we had hard gales of wind from the same western quarter, attended by a most prodigious swell; insomuch that, although we stood all that time towards the S. W. we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westwards. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water. After this, for three or four days, though the sea ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate; but, on the 18th, we had again strong gales of wind with excessive cold, and at midnight the main top-sail split, and one of the straps of the main dead-eyes broke. From the 18th to the 23d the weather was more moderate, though often intermixed with rain and sleet and some hard gales; but, as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring sore in this lofty sea, became so loose in her upper-works that she let in water at every seam, so that every part of her within

board

board was constantly exposed to the sea-water, and scarcely any even of the officers ever lay dry in their beds. Indeed, hardly did two nights pass without many of them being driven from their beds by deluges of water.

On the 23d we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a prodigious sea; and, though we handed the main-sail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard spring; and soon after, in consequence of the foot-rope of the main-sail breaking, the main-sail itself split instantly into rags, and much the greater part of it was blown away, in spite of every endeavour to save it. On this the commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring to; and as the storm lulled into a calm, we had an opportunity to lower the main-yard, and set the carpenters to work upon it, while we also repaired our rigging; after which, having bent a new main-sail, we got again under way with a moderate breeze. But, in less than twenty-four hours, we had another storm, still more furious than the former, which blew a perfect hurricane, and obliged us to lie-to under bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear, in order to join the squadron to leeward, as otherwise we had been in danger of parting from them in the night. On this occasion, as we dared not venture to shew any sail to the gale, we had to use an expedient, which answered the purpose: This was putting the helm a-weather and manning the fore-shrouds: But, though this answered the end in view, yet in its execution one of our ablest seamen was canted overboard. Notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, we could perceive that he swam very vigorously, yet we found ourselves, to our excessive concern, incapable of giving him the smallest assistance; and were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived that he might continue long sensible of the horror of his irretrievable situation.

Before this storm was quite abated, we found that two of our main-shrouds and one of our mizen-shrouds were broken, all of which we knotted and replaced immediately. After this we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied by so thick a fog, that we had to fire guns almost every half hour to keep our squadron together. On the 31st we were alarmed by a gun from the Gloucester, and a signal to speak the commodore. We immediately

mediately bore down to her, prepared to learn some terrible disaster, of which we were apprised before we came down, by seeing that her main-yard was broken in the slings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all, at this juncture, as it was evident that it must prove a hinderance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. Our future safety and success was not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as short as possible, the commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. At this time also, the captain of the Tryal represented that his pumps were so bad, and his ship made so much water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free; wherefore the commodore ordered him a pump, ready fitted, from the Centurion. It was very fortunate, both for the Gloucester and Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable that day, than for many days both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed so essential for their preservation, and which they could scarcely have procured at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

Next day, being the 1st of April, the weather returned to its customary bias; the sky looking dark and gloomy, and the wind beginning to freshen and to blow in squalls; yet it was not so boisterous as to prevent us carrying our top-sails close reefed, but its appearance evidently prognosticated that a still more severe tempest was at hand. Accordingly, on the 3d of April, there came on a storm, which, both in its violence and duration, for it lasted three days, exceeded all we had hitherto experienced. In its first onset, we received a furious shock from a sea, which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge. Our rigging suffered also extremely from the blow; among the rest, one of the straps of the main dead-eyes was broken, as were likewise a main shroud and a puttock shroud; so that, to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds, we had to lower both our main and fore yards, and to furl all our sails. We lay in this posture for three days, when, the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only. Even this would not avail us long; for next day, being the 7th, we had another

other hard gale, accompanied with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie-to all night.

It was really wonderful, notwithstanding the severe weather we endured, that no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the Gloucester broke her main-yard. But this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three next morning, several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress, on which the commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring to. At day-break we saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships, and soon perceived that she had lost her mizen-mast, and main topsail-yard. We immediately bore down towards her, and found that this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron-work, as all the chain plates to windward had given way, in consequence of her having fetched a deep roll. This accident proved the more unfortunate for the Wager, as her captain had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st March, and the weather was now too severe to permit of his return. Nor was the Wager the only ship in the squadron that suffered in this tempest; for next day, a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and on speaking her, we found she had broken her fore-stay and the gammon of her boltsprit, and was in no small danger of all her masts coming by the board; so that the whole squadron had to bear away to leeward till she made all fast, after which we again hauled upon a wind.

After all our solicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind, to which we had been incessantly exposed for near forty days, we now had great consolation in the hope that our fatigues were drawing to a close, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply rewarded for all our past toils and sufferings; for, towards the latter end of March, by our reckoning, we had advanced near ten degrees to the west of the westermost point of Terra del Fuego; and, as this allowance was double what former navigators had thought necessary to compensate the drift of the western current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Pacific, and had been, ever since then, standing to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather and our frequent disasters would permit. On the 13th of April, in addition to our before-mentioned westing, we were only one degree of latitude to the southward of the western entrance

entrance into the Straits of Magellan, so that we fully expected in a very few days to experience the celebrated tranquillity of the *Pacific* Ocean. But these were only delusions, which served to render our disappointment more terrible. On the morning of the 14th, between two and three o'clock, the weather, which till then had been hazy, fortunately cleared up, and the pink made a signal for seeing the land right a-head; and, as it was only two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter, with its wonted violence, or had not the moon suddenly shone out, not a ship of the whole squadron could possibly have avoided. But the wind, which some hours before blew in squalls from the S.W. had fortunately shifted to W.N.W. by which we were enabled to stand to the southward, and to clear ourselves of this sudden and unexpected danger, and were fortunate enough by noon to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be that part of Terra del Fuego, near the south-western outlet of the Straits of Magellan, described in Frezier's chart, and was supposed to be that point which he calls Cape Noir.[1] It was indeed wonderful that the current should have driven us to the eastward with so much strength, for the whole squadron computed that we were ten degrees to the westward of this land; so that in turning, by our reckoning, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not in reality advanced half that distance: And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate, and more tranquil seas, we were forced again to steer southwards, and had again to combat those western blasts which had already so often terrified us; and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling sick and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by long continuance at sea and by this severe disappointment, were now much less capable of supporting us through the various difficulties and dangers, which we could not but look for in this new and arduous undertaking. Added to all this, we were sore discouraged by the diminution in the strength of the squadron; for, three days before this, we had lost sight of the Severn

[1] Cape Noir, in a small island off the western coast of Terra del Fuego, is in lat. 54° 28′ S. long. 73° 40′ W.—E.

Severn and Pearl in the morning, and, though we spread our ships, and beat about for them for some time, we never saw them more; whence we apprehended that they also had fallen in with this land in the night, and being less favoured by the wind and the moon, might have perished by running on shore. Full of these desponding thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the S.W. prepared, by our late disappointment, how large an allowance soever we made in our westing for the drift of the current from the westward, that we might still find it insufficient upon a second trial.

SECTION IX.

Observations and Directions for facilitating the Passage of future Navigators round Cape Horn.

THE improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the before-recited disappointment, in falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourselves above an hundred leagues to the westward of that coast, and consequently well advanced into the Pacific Ocean, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterwards experienced. For, from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of so many of our people, the ruin of our project against Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spanish settlements, and the reduction of our squadron, from the formidable condition in which it passed the Straits of Le Maire, to a couple of shattered half-manned cruizers and a sloop, so exceedingly disabled that, in many climates, they scarcely durst have put to sea. To prevent, therefore, as much as in me lies, the recurrence of similar calamities to all ships bound hereafter to the South Seas, I think it my duty to insert in this place such observations and directions, as either my own experience and reflection, or the conversation of the most skilful navigators on board the squadron, could furnish me with, as to the most eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn, whether in regard to the season of the year, the course proper to be steered, or the places of refreshment both on the eastern and western sides of South America.

To

To begin with the proper place for refreshment on the eastern side of South America. For this purpose the island of St Catharines has been usually recommended by former writers, and on their authority we put in there; but the treatment we experienced, and the small store of refreshments we could procure there, are sufficient reasons to render all ships very cautious in future how they trust to the government of Don Jose Sylva de Paz; for they may assuredly depend on having their strength, condition, and designs betrayed to the Spaniards, as far as the knowledge the governor can procure of these particulars may enable him. As this treacherous conduct was inspired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river Plate, rather than by any natural affection between the Portuguese and Spaniards, the same perfidy may perhaps be expected from most of the governors on the coast of Brazil, since these smuggling engagements are doubtless very general and extensive; and, though the governors themselves should detest so faithless a procedure, yet, as ships are perpetually passing from one or other of the Brazilian ports to the Rio Plata, the Spaniards could scarcely fail of receiving intelligence, by this means, of any British ships being on the coast; and, however imperfect such intelligence might be, it might prove injurious to the views and interests of cruizers thus discovered.

As the Spanish trade in the South Seas is all in one direction, from north to south, or the direct reverse, with very little deviation to the eastward or westward, it is in the power of two or three cruizers, properly stationed on different parts of this track, to possess themselves of every ship that puts to sea. This, however, can only be the case so long as they continue concealed from the neighbouring coast; for, the moment that an enemy is known to be in these seas, all navigation is prohibited, and all chance of capture is consequently at an end; as the Spaniards, well aware of these advantages to an enemy, send expresses all along the coast, and lay a general embargo on all trade; which measure they know will not only prevent their vessels from being taken, but must soon oblige all cruizers, that have not sufficient strength to attempt their settlements on shore, to quit these seas for want of provisions. Hence the great importance of carefully concealing all expeditions of this kind is quite evident; and hence too it is obvious how extremely prejudicial

such intelligence must prove as that communicated by the Portuguese to the Spaniards in our case, in consequence of touching at the ports of Brazil. Yet it will often happen that ships, bound beyond Cape Horn, may be obliged to call there for wood, water, and other refreshments; in which case, St Catharines is the very last place I would recommend; both because the proper animals for a live stock at sea, as hogs, sheep, and fowls, are not to be procured there, for want of which we found ourselves greatly distressed, being reduced to live almost entirely on salt provisions; and because, from that port being nearer the Rio Plata than many others of the Portuguese settlements, the inducements and conveniences for betraying us to the Spaniards were so much the stronger. The place I would recommend is Rio Janeiro, where two of our squadron put in, after separating from us in passing Cape Horn. At this place, as I was informed by a gentleman on board one of these ships, any quantity of hogs and poultry can be procured; and as it is more distant from the Rio Plata, the difficulty of sending intelligence to the Spaniards is somewhat increased, and consequently the chance of continuing there undiscovered is so much the greater. Other measures, which may effectually obviate all these embarrassments, will be considered more at large hereafter.

I proceed, in the next place, to consider of the proper measures to be pursued for doubling Cape Horn: And here, I think I am sufficiently authorized, by our own fatal experience, and by a careful comparison and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give the following advice, which ought never, in prudence, to be departed from: Which is, That all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through the Straits of Le Maire, should constantly pass by the eastward of Staten-Land, and should be invariably bent on running as far as the latitude of 61° or 62° S. before they endeavour to stand to the westwards; and ought then to make sure of a sufficient westing in or about that latitude, before commencing a northern course. But, since directions diametrically opposite to these have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reasons for each part of this maxim.

First then, as to the propriety of passing to the eastward of Staten-Land. Those who have attended to the risk we ran in passing the Straits of Le Maire, the danger we were in of

being

being driven upon Staten-Land by the current, when, though we happily escaped being driven on shore, we were yet carried to the eastward of that island: those, I say, who reflect on this and the like accidents which have happened to other ships, will surely not esteem it prudent to pass through these straits and run the risk of shipwreck, and find themselves, after all, no farther to the westward, the only reason hitherto given for this practice, than they might have been, in the same time, by a more secure navigation in an open sea. And *next*, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61° or 62° S. before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward. The reasons for this precept are, that, in all probability, the violence of the current setting from the westward will be thereby avoided, and the weather will prove less tempestuous and uncertain. This last circumstance we experienced most remarkably; for after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land at Cape Noir, we stood away southward to get clear of it; and were no sooner advanced into the lat. of 60° S. or upwards, than we met with much better weather and smoother water than in any other part of this whole passage. The air indeed was very sharp and cold, and we had strong gales, but they were steady and uniform, and we had at the same time sunshine and a clear sky: whereas in the lower latitudes, the wind every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new strength, and then returned suddenly in the most violent gusts, threatening at every blast to blow away our masts, which must have proved our inevitable destruction.

Also, that the currents in this high latitude would be of much less efficacy than nearer the land, seems to be evinced by these considerations: That all currents run with greater violence near the shore than out at sea, and that at great distances from the land they are scarcely perceptible. The reason of this seems sufficiently obvious, if we consider that constant currents, in all probability, are produced by constant winds; the wind, though with a slow and imperceptible motion, driving a large body of water continually before it, which, being accumulated on any coast that it meets with in its course, must escape along the shore by the endeavours of the surface to reduce itself to the level of the rest of the ocean. It is likewise reasonable to suppose, that those violent gusts of wind which we experienced near the shore, so very different from what we found in the lat. of 60° S. and upwards, may be owing to a similar cause; for a westerly wind

wind almost perpetually prevails in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean, and this current of air being interrupted by the enormously high range of the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country as far south as Cape Horn, a part only of the wind can force its way over the top of these prodigious precipices, while the rest must naturally follow the direction of the coast, and must range down the land to the southward, and sweep with an impetuous and irregular blast round Cape Horn, and the southermost part of Terra del Fuego. Without placing too much reliance on these speculations, we may assume, I believe, as incontestable facts, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the western gales, are less sensible in lat. 61° or 62° S. than nearer the coasts of Terra del Fuego.

Though satisfied, both from our own experience and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept here insisted on, of proceeding to lat. 61° or 62° S. before any endeavours are made to stand to the westwards, yet I would also advise all ships hereafter not to trust so far to this management as to neglect another most essential maxim: Which is, to make this passage in the height of the *antarctic summer*, or, in other words, in the months of December and January, which correspond exactly to the months of June and July in our northern or arctic hemisphere: and the more distant the time of passing may be from this season, so much the more disastrous the passage may reasonably be expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the western winds be considered, the time of our passage, which was about the antarctic autumnal equinox, was perhaps the most favourable period of the whole year. But then it must be considered that there are, independent of the winds, many other inconveniences to be apprehended in the depth of winter, which are almost insuperable. For, at that season, the severity of the cold, and the shortness of the days, would render it impracticable to run so far to the southward as is here recommended. The same reasons would also greatly augment the danger and alarm of sailing, at that season, in the neighbourhood of an unknown shore, dreadful in its appearance, even in the midst of summer, and would render a winter navigation on this coast, beyond all others, most dismaying and terrible. As I would, therefore, advise all ships to make their passage, if possible, in December and

January

January, so I would warn them never to attempt doubling Cape Horn, from the eastward, after the month of March, which is equivalent to our August.

As to the remaining consideration, in regard to the most proper place for cruizers to refit at, on their first arrival in the South Seas, there is scarcely any choice, the island of Juan Fernandez being the only place that can be prudently recommended for that purpose. For, although there are many ports on the western side of Patagonia, between the Straits of Magellan, one of which I shall particularly notice in the sequel, in which ships may ride in great safety, and may also recruit their wood and water, and procure some few refreshments, yet that coast is in itself so extremely dangerous, owing to its numerous rocks and breakers, and to the violence of the western winds, which blow upon it continually, that it is by no means advisable to fall in with that coast, at least till the roads, channels, and anchorages in each part of it have been accurately surveyed, and both the perils and shelters with which it abounds are more distinctly known.

Having thus given the best directions in my power, for the success of our cruizers that may be hereafter bound to the South Seas, it might be expected that I should now resume the narrative of our voyage. Yet as, both in the preceding and subsequent parts of this work, I have thought it my duty not only to recite all such facts, and to inculcate such maxims, as had even the least appearance of proving beneficial to future navigators, and also to recommend such measures to the public as seemed adapted to promote the same laudable purpose, I cannot desist from the present subject without beseeching those persons to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is confided, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarrassments with which the navigation to the South Sea is at present encumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honourable to themselves, and extremely beneficial to their country; for it is sufficiently evident, that whatever improvements navigation shall receive, either by the invention of methods by which its practice may be rendered less hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coasts, roads, and harbours already known, or by the discovery of new countries and nations, or of new species and sources of commerce, the advantages thence arising must ultimately redound to the emolument

ment of Great Britain. Since, as our fleets are at present superior to those of the whole world united, it must be a matchless degree of supineness or meanness of spirit, if we permit any of the advantages deriveable from new discoveries, or from a more extended navigation, to be ravished from us.

Since it appears, from what has been already said, that all our future expeditions to the South Seas must run a considerable risk of proving abortive, while we remain under the necessity of touching at Brazil in our passage thither, the discovery of some place more to the southward, where ships might refresh, and supply themselves with the necessary sea stock for their passage round Cape Horn, would relieve us from this embarrassment, and would surely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Neither does this seem difficult to be effected, as we already have an imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps prove, on examination, extremely convenient for this purpose. One of these is Pepy's Island, in the latitude of 47° S. and laid down by Dr Halley about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia.[1] The other is Falkland's Islands, in lat. 51° 30′ S.[2] nearly south of Pepy's Island.

The first of these was discovered by Captain Cowley in 1683, during his voyage round the world, and is represented by that navigator as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, being provided with a good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety, being also the resort of vast numbers of fowls; and as its shores consist of either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish. Falkland's Islands have been seen by many navigators, both French and English. It is laid down by Frezier, in his chart of the extremity of South America, under the name of the *New Islands.* Woods Rogers, who ran along the N.E. coasts of these islands in 1708, says

[1] Isla Grande, supposed to be the Pepy's Island discovered by Cowley, is in lat. 46° 34′ S. and is placed by Mr Dalrymple in long. 46° 40′ W. while the illustrious navigator Cook makes its long. 35° 40′ W. a difference of longitude of no less than eleven degrees.

[2] The centre of Falkland's Islands is in 51° 45′ S. Janson's Islands, the most north-westerly of the group, or the Sebaldines, is in 51°; and Beauchene's Isle, the most southerly, in 53° S.—E.

says they extend about two degrees in length,[3] and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, seeming to be good ground, interspersed with woods, and not destitute of harbours.

Either of these places, being islands at a considerable distance from the continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to be situated in a sufficiently temperate climate. They are both, it is true, too little known at present to be recommended as the most eligible places of refreshment for ships bound to the South Seas: But, if the admiralty should think proper to order them to be surveyed, which might be done at a very small expence, by a vessel fitted out on purpose; and if, on examination, either one or both should appear proper for serving the end in view, it is scarcely possible to conceive how exceedingly important so convenient a station might prove, so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn. The Duke and Duchess of Bristol, under Woods Rogers, were only thirty-five days from losing sight of Falkland's Islands to their arrival at Juan Fernandez, in the South Sea; and, as the return back is much facilitated by the western winds, a voyage might doubtless be made from Falkland's Islands to Juan Fernandez and back again in little more than two months. Even in time of peace, this station might be of great consequence to the nation; and in time of war, would render us masters of those seas.

As all discoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to those who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconsiderable expence, since small vessels are much the most proper to be employed in this service, it were greatly to be wished that the whole coasts of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-Land, were carefully surveyed, and the numerous channels, roads, harbours, and islands, in which they abound, accurately examined, described, and represented. This might open to us vast facilities for passing into the South Seas, such as hitherto we have no knowledge of, and would render the whole of that southern navigation greatly more secure than it is at present: Particularly as exact draughts of the western coast of Patagonia, from the Straits of Magellan to the Spanish settlements, might furnish us

[3] The west extremity of this group is in long. 62° W. and the east extremity in 56° 48′ W. so that their extent is 5° 12′ in difference of longitude.—E.

us with better and more convenient ports for refreshment, and better situated, both for the purposes of war and commerce, than Juan Fernandez, as being above a fornight's sail nearer to Falkland's Islands.

The discovery of this coast was formerly thought of so much importance, by reason of its neighbourhood to the *Araucos* and other Indians of Chili, who are generally at war, or at least on ill terms, with the Spaniards, that, in the reign of Charles II. Sir John Narborough was purposely fitted out to survey the Straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coast of Patagonia, and the Spanish ports on that frontier, with directions, if possible, to procure some intercourse with the Chilese Indians, and to establish a commerce and lasting correspondence with them. His majesty's views, on this occasion, were not solely directed to the advantage he might hope to receive from an alliance with these savages, in restraining and intimidating the king of Spain, but he even conceived, independent of these considerations, that an immediate traffic with these Indians might prove highly advantageous to the nation; for it is well known that Chili, at its first discovery by the Spaniards, abounded in vast quantities of gold, much beyond what it has ever produced since it came into their possession. Hence it has been generally believed, that the richest mines are carefully concealed by the Indians, as well knowing that their discovery would excite in the Spaniards a greater thirst for conquest and tyranny, and would render their own independence more precarious. But, in regard to their commerce with the English, could that be established, these reasons would no longer influence them; since it would be in our power to supply them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, together with many other conveniences, which their intercourse with the Spaniards has taught them to relish. They would then, in all probability, open their mines, and gladly embrace a traffic of such mutual advantage to both nations: For their gold, instead of proving an incitement to enslave them, would then procure them weapons with which to assert their liberty, to chastise their tyranny, and to secure themselves for ever from falling under the Spanish yoke; while, with our assistance, and under our protection, they might become a considerable people, and might secure to us that wealth, which was formerly most mischievously lavished by the house of Austria, and

lately

lately by the house of Bourbon, in pursuit of universal monarchy.

It is true, that Sir John Narborough did not succeed in opening this commerce, which promised, in appearance, so many advantages to the nation: But his disappointment was merely accidental; and his transactions on that coast, besides the many advantages he furnished to geography and navigation, are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than any objection against them. His principal misfortune was in losing a small bark that accompanied him, and having some of his people trepanned at Baldivia. It even appeared, by the fears and precautions of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme he was sent to execute, and were extremely alarmed with apprehensions for its consequences. It is said that Charles II. was so far prepossessed with the belief of the advantages that might redound to the public from this expedition, and was so eager to be informed of the event, on receiving intelligence of Sir John Narborough passing through the Downs on his return, that he had not patience to wait till his arrival at court, but went himself in his barge to meet him at Gravesend.

The two most famous charts hitherto published, [*i. e.* in 1745,] of the southern parts of South America, are those of Dr Halley, in his General Chart of the Magnetic Variation, and of Frezier, in his Voyage to the South Seas. Besides these, there is a chart of the Straits of Magellan and some parts of the adjacent coast, by Sir John Narborough, which is doubtless infinitely more exact in that part than Frezier's, and even in some parts superior to Halley's, particularly in regard to the longitudes of different places in these straits. We were in some measure capable of correcting, by our own observations, the coast from Cape Blanco to Terra del Fuego, and thence to the Straits of Le Maire, as we ranged along that coast, generally in sight of land. The position of the land to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, on the western side of Patagonia, is doubtless laid down very imperfectly in our charts; and yet I believe it to be much nearer the truth than any hitherto published; as it was drawn from the information of some of the crew of the Wager, which was shipwrecked on that coast; and as it pretty nearly agrees with what I have seen in some Spanish manuscripts. The channel, called Whale Sound, dividing Terra del

del Fuego, towards the western extremity of the Straits of Magellan, was represented by Frezier; but Sir Francis Drake, who first discovered Cape Horn, and the south-west parts of Terra del Fuego, observed that the whole coast was indented by a great number of inlets, all of which he conceived to communicate with the Straits of Magellan: And I do not doubt, when this country shall be thoroughly examined, that this conjecture will be verified, and that Terra del Fuego will be found to consist of several islands.

I must not omit warning all future navigators against relying on the longitude of the Straits of Le Maire, or of any part of that coast, as laid down by Frezier; the whole being from eight to ten degrees too far to the eastward, if any faith can be given to the concurrent evidences of a great number of journals, verified, in some particulars, by astronomical observations. For instance, Sir John Narborough places Cape Virgin Mary in long. 65° 42′ W. from the Lizard, or about 71° 20′ from London. The ships of our squadron, taking their departure from St Catharines, where the longitude was rectified by an observation of an eclipse of the moon, found Cape Virgin Mary to be from 70° 15′ to 72° 30′ W. from London, according to their different reckonings; and, as there were no circumstances in our run that could render it considerably erroneous, it cannot be estimated in less than 71° W. from London;[4] whereas Frezier makes it only 66° W. from Paris, which is little more than 63° from London. Again, our squadron found the difference of longitude between Cape Virgin Mary and the Straits of Le Maire to be not more than 2° 30′, while Frezier makes the difference nearly 4°,[5] by which he enlarged the coast, from the Straits of Magellan to the Straits of Le Maire, to near double its real extent.[6]

SECTION

[4] Only 67° 40′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

[5] The Straits of Le Maire are in long. 65° 30′ W. so that the difference is 2° 10′.

[6] Some farther critical observations on the geographical positions, as laid down by Frezier, Sir John Narborough, and Dr Halley, are here omitted, as tending to no use or information; these things having been since ascertained with much more accuracy.—E.

SECTION X.

Course from Cape Noir to the Island of Juan Fernandez.

AFTER the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, at Cape Noir, when we reckoned ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it, as formerly mentioned to have happened on the 14th of April, we stood away to the S.W. till the 22d of that month, when we were in upwards of 60° S. and, by our reckoning, 6° westwards of Cape Noir. In this run, we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season of the year; so that this interval, setting aside our disquietudes on various accounts, was by far the most eligible of any we had enjoyed since passing the Straits of Le Maire. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the evening of the 24th, when the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm. About midnight, the weather being very thick, we lost sight of the other ships of the squadron, which had hitherto kept us company, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms. Neither was this our sole misfortune, for next morning, while endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clew-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the top-sails was soon split from top to bottom. The main top-sail shook so violently in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and even endangered the head of the mast. At length, however, some of the boldest of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, with the utmost hazard of their lives. At the same time, the fore top-sail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces. The main-sail also blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail; and the fore-yard also being lowered, we lay-to under a mizen. In this storm, besides the loss of our top-sails, we had much of our rigging broken, and lost a main studding-sail boom out of the chains.

The weather became more moderate on the 25th at noon, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair our shattered rigging in the best manner we could; but still we had no sight of the rest of our squadron, neither did any of them

them rejoin us till after our arrival at Juan Fernandez; nor, as we afterwards learnt, did any two of them continue in company together. This total, and almost instantaneous separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must be owned, indeed, that we had hence room to expect we might make our passage in a shorter time than if we had continued together, because we could now make the best of our way, without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we were thereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety depended solely on our single ship; so that, if a plank started, or any other important accident occurred, we must all irrecoverably perish. Or, should we happen to be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting off again; whereas, with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, as in every kind of danger there would always be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

During the remainder of April, we had generally hard gales, though every day, since the 22d, edging to the northward. On the last day of the month, however, we flattered ourselves with the expectation of soon terminating our sufferings, as we then found ourselves in lat. 52° 13′ S. which, being to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, we were now assured that we had completed our passage, and were arrived on the confines of the South Sea: And, as this ocean is denominated the *Pacific*, from the equability of the seasons said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not that we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that portion of the globe is so renowned. Under the influence of these pleasing circumstances, we hoped to experience some compensation for the complicated sufferings, which had so constantly beset us for the last eight weeks. Yet here we were again miserably disappointed; for, in the succeeding month of May, our sufferings rose even to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rig-

ging,

ging, or the diminution and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the even threatening prospect of our utter destruction. All this will be sufficiently evident, from the following circumstantial recital of our diversified misfortunes.

Soon after we had passed the Straits of Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance among us, and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that there were but few on board, by the latter end of April, that were not afflicted with it in some degree; and in that month no less than forty-three died of it in the Centurion. Although we thought the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that its malignity might abate as we advanced to the northward, we yet found, on the contrary, that we lost near double that number in the month of May; and, as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and so prodigiously did the disease extend, that, after the loss of above 200 men, we could not muster at the last above six foremast-men in a watch that were capable of duty.

This disease, so frequent in long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. Its symptoms are innumerable and inconstant, and its progress and effects singularly irregular, for scarcely have any two persons complaints exactly resembling each other; and where there have been some conformity in the symptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. Though it frequently puts on the form of many other diseases, and is not therefore to be described by any exclusive and infallible criterions, yet there are some symptoms which are more general than the rest, and of more frequent and constant occurrence, and which therefore deserve a more particular enumeration. These common appearances are large discoloured spots dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise, however inconsiderable; and this lassitude at last degenerates into a proneness to swoon, and even to die, on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion. This disease is usually attended, also, by a strange dejection of spirits, with shi-

verings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident. Indeed it was most remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever discouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the distemper, for such usually killed those who were in the last stages of the disease, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty, so that it seemed as if alacrity of mind and sanguine hopes were no small preservatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not easy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this disease; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and sometimes occasioned obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing, and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms. At other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, were subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended by rotten bones, and such a luxuriance of fungous flesh as yielded to no remedy. The most extraordinary circumstance, and which would scarcely be credible upon any single evidence, was, that the scars of wounds that had been healed for many years, were forced open again by this virulent distemper. There was a remarkable instance of this in the case of one of the invalid soldiers on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before, at the battle of the Boyne; and though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great many years, yet, on being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds broke out afresh in the progress of the disease, and appeared as if they had never been healed. What is even still more extraordinary, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was dissolved in the course of this disease, and the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. The effects, indeed, of this disease, were in almost every instance wonderful, for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health, as they eat and drank heartily, were even cheerful, talking with much seeming vigour with a loud strong voice; and yet, on being in the least moved, though only from one part of the ship to another, and that too in their hammocks, they would instantly expire. Others, who have confided in their seeming strength, and have resolved to get out of their hammocks,

have

have died before they could well reach the decks; neither was it uncommon for such as were able to walk the deck, and even to perform some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any attempt to act with their utmost effort; many of our people having perished in this manner in the course of our voyage.

We struggled under this terrible disease during the greatest part of the time of our beating round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty-three men in the month of April, as formerly observed. We were still, however, in hopes of seeing a period to this cruel malady, and to all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us, when we should have secured our passage round the Cape; but we found, to our heavy misfortune, that the (so-called) Pacific Ocean was to us less hospitable even than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. On the 8th of May, being arrived off the island of Socoro, on the western coast of Patagonia, [in lat. 44° 50′ S. long. 73° 45′ W.] the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where we hoped to have met with some of our consorts, we cruized for them in that station several days. We were here not only disappointed in our expectations of meeting our friends, which induced the gloomy apprehensions of their having all perished, but were also perpetually alarmed with the fear of being driven on this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least prospect, in such a case, that any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. The land, indeed, had a most tremendous aspect. The most distant part, far within the country, being the mountains of the Andes, or Cordelieras, was extremely high, and covered with snow; while the coast seemed quite rocky and barren, and the edge of the water skirted with precipices. In some places, indeed, we observed several deep bays running into the land; but their entrances were generally blocked up by numbers of small islands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient shelter in some of the bays, and proper channels leading to them, yet, as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the westerly winds, which blew almost incessantly, we could not well have avoided the loss both of the ship and of our lives.

This continued peril, which lasted above a fortnight, was greatly aggraved by the difficulties we found in working the ship;

ship; as the scurvy, by this time, had destroyed so great a number of our hands, and had in some degree infected almost the whole crew. Neither did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls of wind, which split our sails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during much the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard that, in any other situation where we had sufficient sea-room, we should certainly have lain-to; but, in the present exigency, we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top-sails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers, marking them in different parts of their bodies. This flame was attended by a strong sulphurous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent flashes of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coast, all of which went on increasing till the 22d of May; at which time the fury of all the storms we had hitherto encountered seemed to have combined for our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and a great part of our standing rigging broken. About eight in the evening, an overgrown mountainous wave took us upon our star-board quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, to the great danger of our masts giving way, and our ballast and stores were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. This was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation, having the dismal apprehension of instantly foundering. Though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, having no sails left in a condition to bend to the yards, the ship laboured exceedingly in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale too, for want of sail to keep her steady, so that we every moment expected that our masts, now very slenderly supported, would have come by the board. We exerted ourselves, however, the best we could, to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our sails: But, while these necessary operations were going on, we ran great risk of being

ing driven ashore on the island of Chiloe, which was not far from us. In the midst of our peril, the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the land with the mainsail only; at which time the master and I undertook the management of the helm, while every one else, capable of acting, were busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for, in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since passing the Straits of Le Maire.

Having now cruized in vain, for the other ships of the squadron, during more than a fortnight, it was resolved to take advantage of the present favourable weather, and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandez. It is true that our next rendezvous was appointed off Baldivia; yet, as we had seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second, and indeed we had the greatest reason to suspect that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we were now reduced to so low a condition, that, instead of pretending to attack the settlements of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining crew, by a speedy arrival at Juan Fernandez; as that was the only place, in this part of the world, where there was any probability of recovering our sick or refitting our ship, and consequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid perishing at sea.

Our deplorable situation allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandez; and, to save time, which was now extremely precious, as our men were dying by four, five, and six of a day, and likewise to avoid being again engaged on a lee shore, we resolved to endeavour to hit that island upon a meridian. On the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel on which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing that island; but, not finding it in the position laid down in our charts, we began to fear that we had got too far to the westward; and therefore, though the commodore was strongly persuaded that he saw it in the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to have been only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some countenance, it was resolved, on consultation, to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the island; as, by this

this course, we should certainly fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it, or should at least make the main land of Chili, whence we could take a new departure, so as not to miss it a second time in running to the westward.

Accordingly, on the 30th May, we had sight of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues, the land appearing very low and uneven, and quite white; what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we had been, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island: For the mortality among us was now increased to a most frightful degree, and those who remained were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea. Our water, too, began to grow scarce, and a general dejection prevailed among us, which added much to the virulence of the disease, and destroyed numbers of our best men. To all these calamities, there was added this vexatious circumstance, after getting sight of the main land, that we were so much delayed by calms and contrary winds, while tacking westwards in quest of the island, that it took us nine days to regain the westing, which we ran down in two when standing to the eastward.

In this desponding condition, and under these disheartening circumstances, we stood to the westward, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased, that there were not above ten foremast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame and unable to go aloft. At last, at day-break on the 9th of June, we discovered the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandez. Owing to our suspecting ourselves to be to the westward of this island on the 28th of May, and in consequence of the delay occasioned by our standing in for the main and returning, we lost between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we had doubtless saved, if we had made the island on that day, which we could not have failed to do, if we had kept on our course only for a few hours longer.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

Arrival of the Centurion at Juan Fernandez, with a Description of that Island.

As mentioned in the preceding section, we descried the island of Juan Fernandez at day-break on the 9th June, bearing N. by E.½E. distant eleven or twelve leagues. Though on this first view it appeared very mountainous, ragged, and irregular, yet it was land, and the land we sought for, and was therefore a most agreeable sight: because here only we could hope to put a period to those terrible calamities with which we had so long struggled, which had already swept away above half of our crew, and which, had we continued only a few days longer at sea, must inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were now reduced to so helpless a condition, that, out of two hundred and odd men who remained alive, taking all our watches together, we could not muster hands enow to work the ship on any emergency, even including the officers, the servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the island, we kept plying to windward all that day, and the ensuing night, in order to get in with the land; and, while wearing ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters and six foremast men capable of working; so that, without the assistance of the officers, servants, and boys, it might have been impossible for us to have reached the island after we got sight of it; and even with their assistance, we were two hours in trimming the sails; to so wretched a condition were we reduced, in a sixty-gun ship, which had passed the Straits of Le Maire only three months before with between four and five hundred men, most of them then in health and vigour.

In the afternoon of the 10th, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along its coast at the distance of about two miles, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on its north side. Being now so near the shore, we could perceive that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so very unpromising from a distance, were far from barren, being in most

most places covered by woods; and that there were every where the finest vallies interspersed between them, cloathed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered by numerous streams and cascades, every valley of any extent being provided with its own rill; and we afterwards found that the water was constantly clear, and not inferior to any we had ever met with. The aspect of a country thus beautifully diversified would at any time have been extremely delightful; but, in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, an indication constantly attending every stage of the sea-scurvy, it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were in sight. We were particularly anxious for the water, as we had been confined to a very sparing allowance for a considerable time, and had then only five tons remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which even the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in their minds, can judge of the emotion with which we viewed a large cascade of the purest water, which poured into the sea at a short distance from the ship, from a rock near a hundred feet high. Even those of the sick who were not in the very last stage of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted their small remains of strength, and crawled up to the deck, to feast their eyes with this reviving prospect.

We thus coasted along the island, fully occupied in contemplating this enchanting landscape, which still improved as we proceeded. But at last the night closed upon us, before we could determine upon the proper bay in which to anchor. It was resolved, therefore, to keep in soundings all night, having then from sixty-four to seventy fathoms, and to send our boat next morning to discover the road. The current shifted, however, in the night, and set us so near the land that we were obliged to let go our best bower in fifty-six fathoms, not half a mile from shore. At four next morning, the cutter was dispatched, under our third-lieutenant, to find out the bay of which we were in search. The boat returned at noon, full of seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, the boat's crew, during their short stay, had not met any other, and thought even this

this would be acceptable as a dainty, and indeed it was all speedily and eagerly devoured. The seals, too, were considered as fresh provision, but were not much admired, though they afterwards came into more repute; but we had taken a prodigious quantity of excellent fish during the absence of the boat, which rendered the seals less valuable at this time.

The cutter had discovered the bay in which we intended to anchor, which was to the westward of our present station; and next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither, mustering all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who could hardly stand on their legs, to assist; yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we could heave the cable right up and down: after which, with our utmost efforts, though with many surges and some additional purchases to increase our strength, we found it utterly impossible to start the anchor out of the ground. At noon, however, as a fresh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor. We then steered along shore, till we came abreast of the point forming the eastern part of the bay: But on opening the bay, the wind, which had hitherto favoured us, chanced to shift, and blew from the bay in squalls; yet, by means of the head-way we had got, we luffed close in, till the anchor, which still hung at our bow, brought us up in fifty-six fathoms.

Soon after we had thus got to anchor in the mouth of the bay, we discovered a sail making toward us, which we had no doubt was one of our squadron, and which, on a nearer approach, we found to be the Tryal sloop; whereupon, we immediately dispatched some of our hands to her assistance, by whose means she was brought to anchor between us and the land. We soon learnt that she had by no means been exempted from the same calamities by which we had been so severely afflicted; for Captain Saunders, her commander, waiting on the commodore, informed him, that he had buried thirty-four men out of his small complement, and those that remained alive were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of the men were able to stand by the sails.

It was on the 12th about noon that the Tryal came to anchor within us, when we carried our hawsers on board her, in order to warp our ship nearer the shore; but the wind

coming

coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the intended birth. Indeed our principal attention was now devoted to a business of rather more importance, as we were now anxiously employed in sending on shore materials to erect tents for the reception of the sick, who died rapidly on board. Doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for the number of the sick was so great, and so few of them could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in regard to cleanliness, so that the ship was extremely loathsome between decks. Notwithstanding our desire to free the sick from their present hateful situation, and their own extreme eagerness to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception sooner than the 16th; but on that and the two following days we got them all on shore, to the number of an hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats on being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we had to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water-side to the tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who remained healthy; and therefore our commodore, according to his accustomed humanity, not only assisted in this himself, but obliged all his officers to give their helping-hand.

The extreme weakness of our sick may be collected, in some measure, from the numbers that died after they got on shore. It has generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it affords, very soon produce recovery in most stages of the scurvy, and we flattered ourselves that those who had not perished on their first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in the tents, would have been speedily restored to health and vigour. Yet to our great mortification, it was nearly twenty days after they landed, before the mortality entirely ceased, and for the first ten or twelve days we rarely buried less than six each day, and many of those who survived recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Those, indeed, who had sufficient strength, at their first getting on shore, to creep out of the tents, and to crawl about, were soon relieved, and speedily recovered their health and strength: But, in the

rest,

rest, the disease seemed to have attained a degree of inveteracy altogether without example.

Before proceeding to any farther detail of our proceeding, I think it necessary to give a distinct account of this island of Juan Fernandez, including its situation, productions, and conveniences. We were well enabled to be minutely instructed in these particulars, during our three months stay at this island; and its advantages will merit a circumstantial description, as it is the only commodious place in these seas, where British cruizers can refresh and recover their men, after passing round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the Spanish coast. Commodore Anson, indeed, was particularly industrious, in directing the roads and coasts of this island to be surveyed, and other observations of all kinds to be made; knowing, from his own experience, of how great benefit these materials might prove hereafter, to any British cruizers in these seas. For the uncertainty we were in of its position, and our standing in for the main on the 28th May, as formerly related, cost us the lives of between seventy and eighty of our men; from which fatal loss we might have been saved, had we possessed such an account of its situation as we could have fully depended upon.

The island of Juan Fernandez is in lat. 33° 40′ S. [long. 77° 30′ W.] one hundred marine leagues or five degrees of longitude from the continent of Chili. It is said to have received its name from a Spaniard who formerly procured a grant of it, and resided there for some time with the view of forming a settlement, but abandoned it afterwards.[1] On approaching its northern side from the east, it appears a large congeries of lofty peaked mountains, the shore in most places being composed of high precipitous rocks, presenting three several bays, East bay, Cumberland bay, and West bay, the second only being of any extent, and is by far the best, in which we moored. The island itself is of an irregular triangular figure; one side of which, facing the N. E. contains these three bays. Its greatest extent is between four and five leagues, and its greatest breadth something less than two. The only safe anchorage is on the N. E. side,

[1] In the original, the description given of this island refers to large engraved views, which could not be inserted in our octavo form, so as to be of the smallest utility.—E.

side, where, as already mentioned, are the three bays; the middlemost of which, named Cumberland bay, is the widest and deepest, and in all respects by much the best; for the other two, named East and West bays, are scarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put casks on shore for water. Cumberland bay is well secured to the southward, and is only exposed from the N. by W. to the E. by S. and as the northerly winds seldom blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to. This last-mentioned bay is by far the most commodious road in the island, and it is advisable for all ships to anchor on its western side, within little more than two cables length of the beach, where they may ride in forty fathoms, and be sheltered, in a great measure, from a large heavy sea which comes rolling in, whenever the wind blows from eastern or western quarters. It is expedient, however, to *cackle* or arm the cables with an iron chain, or with good rounding, for five or six fathoms from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the foulness of the ground.[2]

I have already observed that a northerly wind, to which alone this bay is directly exposed, very seldom blew while we were there; and, as it was then winter, such may be supposed less frequent in other seasons. In those few instances when the wind was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force, which might be owing to the high lands, south of the bay, giving a check to its force; for we had reason to believe that it blew with considerable force a few leagues out at sea, since it sometimes drove a prodigious sea before it into the bay, during which we rode forecastle in. Though the northerly winds are never to be apprehended in this bay, yet the southerly winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent gusts and squalls, which seldom lasted, however, longer than two or three minutes. This seems to be owing to the high hills, in the neighbourhood of the bay, obstructing the southern gale; as the wind, collected by this means, at last forces its passage through the narrow

[2] Cumberland bay is called *La Baya* by the Spaniards, who seem now to have established a fort here. East bay is by them called *Puerta de Juan Fernandez.* There is yet a fourth bay, or small indentation of the coast, with a landing place and stream of water, named *Puerta Ingles,* or Sugar loaf bay, between West bay and the north point of the island.—E.

row vallies, which, like so many funnels, both facilitate its escape, and increase its violence. These frequent and sudden guests make it difficult for a ship to work in with the wind off shore, or to keep a clear hawse, when anchored.

The northern part of this island is composed of high craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, though generally covered with trees. The soil of this part is loose and shallow, so that very large trees in the hills frequently perish for want of root, and are then easily overturned. This circumstance occasioned the death of one of our men, who, being on the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to assist him in his ascent, and this giving way, he rolled down the hill; and though, in his fall, he fastened on another tree of considerable bulk, this also gave way, and he fell among the rocks, where he was dashed to pieces. Mr Brett, also, having rested his back against a tree, near as large about as himself, which grew on a slope, it gave way with him, and he fell to a considerable distance, though without receiving any injury. Our prisoners, whom, as will appear in the sequel, we afterwards brought to this island, remarked that the appearance of the hills in some parts resembled that of the mountains in Chili where gold is found; so that it is not impossible that mines might be discovered here. In some places we observed several hills of a peculiar red earth, exceeding vermillion in colour, which perhaps, on examination, might prove useful for many purposes. The southern, or rather S.W. part of the island, is widely different from the rest; being destitute of trees, dry, stony, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the island is never frequented by ships, being surrounded by a steep shore, and having little or no fresh water; besides which, it is exposed to the southerly winds, which generally blow here the whole year round, and with great violence in the antarctic winter.

The trees, of which the woods in the northern part of the island are composed, are mostly aromatic, and of many different sorts. There are none of them of a size to yield any considerable timber, except those we called myrtle-trees, which are the largest on the island, and supplied us with all the timber we used; yet even these would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle is circular, and as uniform and regular as if clipped round by art. It bears an excrescence like moss on its bark, having the

the taste and smell of garlic, and was used instead of it by our people. We found here the pimento, and the cabbage-tree, but in no great quantity. Besides these, there were a great number of plants of various kinds, which we were not botanists enough to describe or attend to. We found here, however, almost all the vegetables that are usually esteemed peculiarly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders which are contracted by salt diet and long voyages, as we had great quantities of water-cresses and purslain, with excellent wild sorrel, and a vast profusion of turnips and Sicilian radishes, which two last, having a strong resemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We usually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which we generally found stringy, though some of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. These vegetables, with the fish and flesh we got here, to be more particularly described hereafter, were not only exceedingly grateful to our palates after the long course of salt diet to which we had been confined, but were likewise of the most salutary consequence in recovering and envigorating our sick, and of no mean service to us who were well, by destroying the lurking seeds of the scurvy, from which none of us, perhaps, were totally exempted, and in refreshing and restoring us to our wonted strength and activity. To the vegetables already mentioned, of which we made perpetual use, I must add that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were some few cabbage-trees, as before observed, but these grew generally on precipices and in dangerous situations, and as it was necessary to cut down a large tree to procure a single cabbage, we were rarely able to indulge in this dainty.

The excellence of the climate, and the looseness of the soil, renders this island extremely proper for all kinds of cultivation: for, if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it becomes immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radishes. Our commodore, therefore, having with him garden-seeds of all kinds, and stones of different kinds of fruits, sowed here lettuces, carrots, and other garden-plants, and set in the woods great numbers of plumb, apricot, and peach-stones, for the better accommodation of our countrymen who might hereafter touch at this island. These last have since thriven most remarkably, as has been since learnt by Mr Anson. For some Spanish gentlemen having been taken

taken on their passage from Lima to Spain, and brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon him, to thank him for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, some of whom were their relations, and falling into discourse about his transactions in the South Seas, asked if he had not planted a great number of fruit-stones on the island of Juan Fernandez, as their late navigators had discovered there a great many peach and apricot trees, which, being fruits not observed there before, they supposed to have been produced from kernels set by him.

This may suffice in general as to the soil and vegetable productions of Juan Fernandez; but the face of the country, at least of its northern part, is so extremely singular as to require a particular consideration. I have already noticed the wild and inhospitable appearance of it to us at first sight, and the gradual improvement of its uncouth landscape as we drew nearer, till we were at last captivated by the numerous beauties we discovered on landing. During our residence, we found the interior to fall no ways short of the sanguine prepossessions we at first entertained. For the woods, which covered most of even the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, affording an easy passage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the island, traced out, by their various combinations, a great number of romantic vallies, most of which were pervaded by streams of the purest water, which tumbled in beautiful cascades from rock to rock, as the bottoms of the vallies happened to be broken into sudden descents by the course of the neighbouring hills. Some particular spots occurred in these vallies where the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent cascades of the streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. Here, perhaps, the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most fertile imagination.

The piece of ground which the commodore chose in which to pitch his tent, was a small lawn on a gentle ascent, about half a mile from the sea. In front of the tent was a large avenue, opening through the woods to the shore, and sloping with a gentle descent to the water, having a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by

by a wood of tall myrtle trees, sweeping round in a crescent form, like a theatre, the slope on which the wood grew rising more rapidly than the open lawn, yet not so much but that the hills and precipices of the interior towered considerably above the tops of the trees, and added greatly to the beauty and grandeur of the view. There were also two streams of water, pure as the finest crystal, which ran to the right and left of the tent within the distance of an hundred yards, and which, shaded by trees skirting either side of the lawn, completed the symmetry of the whole.

It only now remains that we should mention the animals and provisions which we met with at this island. Former writers have related that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats, and their accounts are not to be questioned, as this place was the usual resort of the buccaneers and privateers who used formerly to frequent these seas. There are two instances, one of a *musquito* Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotsman, who were left here by their respective ships, and lived alone upon the island for some years, and were consequently no strangers to its productions. Selkirk, who was here the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off by the Duke and Duchess privateers, of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage. His manner of life, during his solitude, was very remarkable in most particulars; but he relates one circumstance, which was so strongly verified by our own experience, that it seems worthy of being mentioned. He tells us, as he often caught more goats than he had occasion for, that he sometimes marked their ears, and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival, yet it happened that the first goat killed by our people after they landed, had its ears slit; whence we concluded that it had doubtless been formerly caught by Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with a most majestic beard, and bearing many other marks of great age. During our residence, we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by exuberant beards, with every other characteristic of extreme age.

The great number of goats, which former writers describe as having been found on this island, were very much diminished before our arrival. For the Spaniards, aware of the advantages derived by the buccaneers and pirates from the goats-flesh they here procured, have endeavoured to extirpate

pate the breed, on purpose to deprive their enemies of this resource. For this purpose, they put on shore great numbers of large dogs, which have greatly increased, and have destroyed all the goats in the accessible parts of the country; so that there were only, when we were there, a few among the crags and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These remaining goats are divided into separate flocks, of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other, so that we found it exceedingly difficult to kill them; yet we were so desirous of their flesh, which we all agreed resembled venison, that we came, I believe, to the knowledge of all their haunts and flocks; and, by comparing their numbers, it was conceived that they scarcely exceeded two hundred on the whole island. I once witnessed a remarkable contest between a flock of goats and a number of dogs. Going in our boat into the East bay, we perceived some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and willing to see what game they were in pursuit of, we rested some time on our oars to observe them, when at last they took to a hill, on the ridge of which we saw a flock of goats drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path leading to the ridge, skirted on each side by precipices, and here the master he-goat of the flock posted himself, fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being all behind him, on more open ground. As the ridge was inaccessible by any other path, except where this champion stood, though the dogs ran up the hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within twenty yards, not daring to encounter him, as he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice, they gave over the chase, and lay down at that distance, panting at a great rate.

These dogs, which are masters of all the accessible parts of the island, are of various kinds, some of them very large, and have multiplied to a prodigious degree. They sometimes came down to our habitations under night, and stole our provisions; and once or twice they set upon single persons, but, assistance being at hand, they were driven away, without doing any mischief. As it is now rare for any goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally on young seals; and some of our people, having the curiosity to kill dogs sometimes, and dress them, seemed to agree that they had a fishy taste.

Goats-

Goats-flesh being scarce, as we were rarely able to kill above one in a day, and our people growing tired of fish, which abounded at this place, they at last condescended to eat seals, which they came by degrees to relish, calling it *lamb*. As the seal, of which numbers haunt this island, has been often mentioned by former writers, it seems unnecessary to say any thing particular respecting that animal in this place. There is, however, another amphibious animal to be met with here, called the *sea-lion*, having some resemblance to a seal, but much larger, which I conceive may merit a particular description. This too we eat, under the denomination of *beef*. When arrived at full size, the sea-lion is between twelve and twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen feet in circumference. They are extremely fat, so that, below the skin, which is an inch thick, there is at least a foot deep of fat, before coming to the lean or bones, and we experienced more than once, that the fat of some of the largest afforded us a butt of oil. They are also very full of blood; for, if deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance. To try what quantity of blood one of them might contain, we shot one first, and then cut its throat, measuring the blood which flowed, and found that we got at least two hogsheads, besides a considerable quantity remaining in the vessels of the animal.

Their skins are covered with short hair of a light dun colour; but their tails and fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black. These fore-feet, or fins, are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these fingers is furnished with a nail. They have a distant resemblance to an overgrown seal; though in some particulars there are manifest differences between these two animals, besides the vast disproportion in size. The males especially are remarkably dissimilar, having a large snout, or trunk, hanging down five or six inches beyond the extremity of the upper jaw, which renders the countenances of the male and female easily distinguishable from each other. One of the largest of these males, who was master of a large flock of females, and drove off all the other males, got from our sailors the name of the bashaw, from that circumstance. These animals divide their time between the sea and the land, continuing at sea all summer, and coming on shore at the setting in of winter, during

all which season they reside on the land. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, having generally two at a birth, which are suckled by the dams, the young at first being as large as a full-grown seal.

During the time they continue on shore, they feed on the grass and other plants which grow near the banks of fresh-water streams; and, when not employed in feeding, sleep in herds in the most miry places they can find. As they seem of a very lethargic disposition, and are not easily awakened, each herd was observed to place some of their males at a distance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm them when any one attempted to molest, or even to approach them. The noise they make is very loud, and of different kinds; sometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times snorting like horses in full vigour. Especially the males have often furious battles, principally about their females; and we were one day extremely surprised at seeing two animals, which at first appeared quite different from any we had before observed; but on a nearer approach, they proved to be two sea-lions, which had been goring each other with their teeth, and were all covered over with blood. The bashaw, formerly mentioned, who generally lay surrounded by a seraglio of females, to which no other male dared approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody contests, of which the marks remained in numerous scars in every part of his body.

We killed many of these animals for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks. In general there was no difficulty in killing them, as they are incapable either of flight or resistance, their motion being the most unwieldy that can be imagined, and all the time they are in motion, their blubber is agitated in large waves under the skin. One day, a sailor being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea-lion, the female from whom he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head into her mouth, scored his skull in notches with her teeth in many places, and wounded him so desperately that he died in a few days, though all possible care was taken of him.[3]

These

[3] There are two species of the seal tribe which have received the name of sea-lion; the phoca leonina, or bottle-nosed seal, which is that of the text; and the phoca jubata, or maned seal, which is the sea-lion of some other writers. These two species are remarkably distinguishable from each

These are the principal animals which we found upon the island of Juan Fernandez. We saw very few birds, and these were chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming-birds. We saw not the *pardela*,[4] which burrows in the ground, and which former writers mention to be found here; but as we often met with their holes, we supposed that the wild dogs had destroyed them, as they have almost done the cats; for these were very numerous when Selkirk was here, though we did not see above two or three during our whole stay. The rats, however, still keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troublesome to us, by infesting our tents in the night.

That which furnished us with the most delicious of our repasts, while at this island, still remains to be described. This was the fish, with which the whole bay was most abundantly stored, and in the greatest variety. We found here cod of prodigious size; and by the report of some of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not less plentiful than on the banks of that island. We had also cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver-fish, congers of a particular kind; and above all, a black fish which we esteemed most, called by some the chimney-sweeper, in shape somewhat resembling a carp. The beach, indeed, was every where so full of rocks and loose stones, that there was no possibility of hauling the seyne; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleased, so that a boat with only two or three lines, would return loaded with fish in two or three hours. The only interruption we ever met with arose from great quantities of dog-fish and large sharks, which sometimes attended our boats, and prevented our sport.

Besides

other, especially the males: The bottle-nosed seal having a trunk, snout, or long projection, on the upper jaw; while the male of the maned seal has his neck covered with a long flowing mane. The latter is also much larger, the males sometimes reaching twenty-five feet in length, and weighing fifteen or sixteen hundred weight. Their colour is reddish, and their voice resembles the bellowing of bulls. The former are chiefly found in the Southern Pacific; while the latter frequent the northern parts of the same ocean.—E.

[4] This name is inexplicable; but, from the context, appears to refer to some animal of the cavia genus, resembling the rabbit: Besides, a small islet, a short way S.W. of Juan Fernandez, is named Isla de Conejos, or Rabbit Island.—E.

Besides these fish, we found one other delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, quantity, and flavour, than is to be met with perhaps in any other part of the world. This was sea craw-fish, usually weighing eight or nine pounds each, of a most excellent taste, and in such vast numbers near the edge of the water, that our boat-hooks often struck into them in putting the boats to and from the shore.

These are the most material articles relating to the accommodations, soil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the island of Juan Fernandez, by which it will distinctly appear how admirably this place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable situation to which we had been reduced by our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape Horn. Having thus given the reader some idea of the situation and circumstances of this island, in which we resided for six months, I shall now proceed to relate all that occurred to us in that period, resuming the narrative from the 18th of June, on which day the Tryal sloop, having been driven out by a squall three days before, came again to her moorings, on which day also we finished sending our sick on shore, being about eight days after our first anchoring at this island.

SECTION XII.

Separate Arrivals of the Gloucester, and Anna Pink, at Juan Fernandez, and Transactions at that Island during the Interval.

THE arrival of the Tryal sloop at this island, so soon after we came there ourselves in the Centurion, gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were accordingly for some days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in sight. After near a fortnight had elapsed without any of them appearing, we began to despair of ever meeting them again, knowing, if our ship had continued so much longer at sea, that we should every man of us have perished, and the vessel, occupied only by dead bodies, must have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves; and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as every hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions. But, on the 21st of June, some of our people, from an eminence on shore, dis-

cerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon. They could, at the same time, observe that she had no sails aboard, except her courses and main-topsail. This circumstance made them conclude that it must be one of our squadron, which had probably suffered as severely in her sails and rigging as we had done. They were prevented, however, from forming more definite conjectures concerning her; for, after viewing her a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and she was no longer to be seen.

On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people must be under the utmost distress for want of water, and so weakened and diminished in numbers by sickness, as to be unable to ply up to windward, so that we dreaded, after having been in sight of the island, that her whole crew might yet perish at sea. On the 21st, at noon, we again discerned a ship at sea in the N.E. quarter, which we conceived to be the same that had been seen before, and our conjecture proved true. About one o'clock she had come so near that we could plainly distinguish her to be the Gloucester; and as we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the commodore immediately ordered out his boat to our assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a most comfortable relief to them; for our apprehensions of their calamitous situation were only too well founded, as there never was, perhaps, a crew in greater distress. They had already thrown two-thirds of their complement overboard; and of those who remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of water to each man in twenty-four hours, and yet had so very little left, that they must soon have died of thirst, had it not been for the supply sent them by our commodore.

The Gloucester plied up within three miles of the bay, but could not reach the road, both wind and currents being contrary. She continued, however, in the offing next day; and as she had no chance of being able to come to anchor, the commodore repeated his assistance, sending off the Tryal's boat, manned with the people of the Centurion, with a farther supply of water, and other refreshments. Captain Mitchell of the Gloucester was under the necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day, as he had no longer strength to navigate his ship without the aid of

of both their crews. The Gloucester continued near a fortnight in this tantalizing situation, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently making the attempt, and even at times bidding fair to effect the object in view. On the 9th July, we observed her stretching away to the eastward, at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but, as she did not again appear for near a week, we were prodigiously alarmed for her safety, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we again discovered her on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island, but the wind still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her from getting nearer than within four miles of the land.

Captain Mitchell now made signals of distress, and our long-boat was sent off with a good supply of water, and plenty of fish and other refreshments: And, as the long-boat could not be wanted, the cockswain had positive orders from the commodore to return immediately. But next day proving stormy, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have been an irretrievable misfortune to us all. We were relieved, however, from this anxiety on the third day after, by the joyful appearance of her sails on the water, on which the cutter was sent to her assistance, and towed her alongside in a few hours, when we found that the long-boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men, to bring them on shore, two of whom had died in the boat. We now learnt that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except the few she had received from us. Numbers of their sick were dying daily, and it appeared, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, that both the healthy and diseased must all have perished for want of water. This calamitous situation was the more terrifying, as it appeared to be without remedy; for the Gloucester had already spent a month in fruitless endeavours to fetch the bay, and was now no farther advanced than when she first made the island. The hopes of her people of ever succeeding were now worn out, by the experience of its difficulty; and, indeed, her situation became that same day more desperate than ever, as we again lost sight of her, after receiving our last supply of refreshments, so that we universally despaired of her ever coming to anchor.

Thus

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about, within a few leagues of her intended harbour, while the near neighbourhood of that place, and of these circumstances which could alone put an end to the calamities under which her people laboured, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief they were unable to reach. She was at length delivered from this dreadful situation at a time when we least expected it: For, after having lost sight of her for several days, we were joyfully surprised, in the morning of the 23d July, to see her open the N.W. point of the bay with a flowing sail, when we immediately dispatched what boats we had to her assistance, and within an hour from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay.

We were now more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we had repeatedly sent her, and how impossible it must have been for a single man of her crew to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants. For, notwithstanding the water, vegetables, and fresh provisions with which we had supplied them, and the hands we had sent to assist in navigating the ship, by which the fatigue of her own people had been greatly diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithstanding this provident care of our commodore, they yet buried above three-fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the survivors remained capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On getting to anchor, our first care was to assist them in mooring, and the next to get their sick on shore. These were now reduced, by numerous deaths, to less than fourscore, of which we expected the greatest part to have died; but whether it was that those farthest advanced in the cruel distemper had already perished, or that the vegetables and fresh provisions we had sent had prepared those who remained alive for a more speedy recovery, it so happened, contrary to our fears, that their sick, in general, were relieved and restored to health in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

Having thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the Gloucester, in one continued narration, I shall only add, that we were never joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna pink, which came in about the middle of August, and whose history I shall

shall defer for the present, as it is now high time to return to our own transactions, both on board and ashore, during the anxious interval of the Gloucester making frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the island.

Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the Centurion, was cleansing our ship, and filling our water casks. The former of these measures was indispensably necessary to our future health, as the number of our sick, and the unavoidable negligence arising from our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome. The filling our water was also a caution that appeared essential to our security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might intervene which would oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning, as some appearances we had discovered on shore, at our first landing, gave us grounds to believe that there were Spanish cruizers in these seas, which had left the island only a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return again, either for a supply of water, or in search of us. For we could not doubt that the sole purpose they had at sea was to intercept us, and we knew that this island was the likeliest place, in their opinion, to meet with us. The circumstances which gave rise to these reflections, in part of which we were not mistaken, as will appear more at large hereafter, were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, made use of in these seas for holding water and other liquids, which appeared fresh broken. We saw also many heaps of casks, near which were fish bones and pieces of fish, besides whole fish scattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been only a short time out of the water, as they were but just beginning to decay.

These were infallible indications that there had been a ship or ships at this place only a short time before our arrival; and, as all Spanish merchant ships are instructed to avoid this island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded that those which had touched here must have been ships of force; and, as we knew not that Pizarro had returned to the Rio Plata, and were ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Calao, we were under considerable apprehensions for our safety, being in so wretched and enfeebled a condition, as, notwithstanding the rank of our ship, and the sixty guns with which she was armed, there was hardly a privateer sent to sea that was not an

overmatch

overmatch for us. Our fears on this head, however, fortunately proved imaginary, and we were not exposed to the disgrace which must unavoidably have befallen us, had we been reduced to the necessity, by the appearance of an enemy, of fighting our sixty-gun ship with no more than thirty hands.

While employed in cleaning our ship, and filling our water casks, we set up a large copper oven on shore, near the sick tents, in which fresh bread was baked every day for the ship's company, as, being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, we believed that new bread, added to their green vegetables and fresh fish, might prove powerfully conducive to their relief. Indeed, we had all imaginable inducements to endeavour at augmenting our present strength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would have been insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless condition. Of this we had a troublesome instance, on the 30th of June, at five in the morning, when we were alarmed by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable, about ten fathoms from the ring of the anchor. The ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up, with two cables on end, in eighty fathoms.

At this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship, and were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we might be driven out to sea in this helpless condition. We sent, therefore, the boat on shore, to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back with a reinforcement. With this additional strength, we went immediately to work, to have in what remained of the broken cable, which we suspected to have received some injury from the ground before it parted, and accordingly we found that seven fathoms and a half had been chaffed and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon, we bent this cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the bows. Next morning, the 1st of July, being favoured by the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathoms; the eastern point of the bay now bearing from us E. ½ S. the western point N.W. by W. and the bottom of the bay S.S.W. as before. We were, however, much concerned for the loss of our anchor, and swept frequently to endeavour

endeavour its recovery; but the buoy having sunk at the instant when the cable parted, we could never find it again.

As the month of July advanced, and some of our sick men were tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were set to cut down trees, and to split them into billets, while others, too weak for this work, undertook to carry the billets, by one at a time, to the water side. This they performed, some by the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next set up the forge on shore, and employed our smith, who was just capable of working, to repair our chain-plates, and other broken and decayed iron-work. We began also the repair of our rigging; but as we had not enough of junk to make spun-yarn, we deferred the general overhaul in the daily hope of the Gloucester arriving, which was known to have a great quantity of junk on board. That we might dispatch our refitting as fast as possible, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sail-makers, who were employed diligently in repairing our old sails and making new ones. These occupations, with cleansing and watering our ship, now pretty well completed, together with attending our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Gloucester at anchor in the bay.

Captain Mitchell immediately waited on the commodore, whom he informed, that, in his last absence, he had been forced as far as the small island of *Masefuero,* nearly in the same latitude with the larger island of Juan Fernandez, and thirty leagues farther W. That he had endeavoured to send his boat on shore there for water, of which he observed several streams; but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and caused so great a surf, that it was impossible to get to land. The attempt, however, was not entirely useless, as the boat came back loaded with fish. This island had been represented, by former navigators, as a mere barren rock, but Captain Mitchell assured the commodore, that it was almost every where covered with trees and verdure, and was nearly four miles in length. He believed also, that some small bay might possibly be found in it which might afford sufficient shelter to any ship desirous of procuring refreshments.

As four ships of our squadron were still missing, this description of Masefuero gave rise to a conjecture, that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, mistaking it for the true place of rendezvous. This suspicion

was

was the more reasonable, that we had no draught of either island that could be relied upon; wherefore the commodore resolved to send the Tryal sloop thither, as soon as she could be made ready for sea, in order to examine all its creeks and bays, that it might be ascertained whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose, some of our best hands were sent on board the Tryal next morning, to overhaul and fix her rigging, and our long-boat was employed to complete her water; what stores and necessaries she wanted, being immediately supplied from the Centurion and Gloucester. It was the 4th of August before the Tryal was in readiness to sail. When, having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore of the bay. Captain Saunders immediately hung out lights, and fired several guns, to apprise us of his danger; upon which all the boats were sent to his aid, which towed the sloop into the bay, where she anchored till next morning, and then proceeded with a fair breeze.

We were now busily employed in examining and repairing our rigging, and that of the Gloucester; but, in stripping our fore-mast, we were alarmed by discovering that it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. This spring was two inches in depth and twelve in circumference; but the carpenters, on inspection, gave it as their opinion, that fishing it with two leaves of an anchor-stock would render it as secure as ever. Besides this defect in our mast, we had other difficulties in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvass; for, although we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we had met with, after passing the straits of Le Maire, had occasioned so great a consumption of these stores, that we were reduced to great straits; as, after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice laid cordage, we were at last reduced to the necessity to unlay a cable, to work up into running rigging; and, with all the canvass and remnants of old sails, that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit the sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves; as it was imagined, by living apart, that they might be much cleanlier, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner: But strict orders were given, at the same time, that they were

were instantly to repair to the water-side, on the firing of a gun from the ship. Their employment now on shore, was either the procurement of refreshments, the cutting of wood, or the procurement of oil from the blubber of sea-lions. This oil served for several purposes; as burning in lamps, mixing with pitch to pay the sides of our ships, or, when worked up with wood-ashes, to supply the place of tallow, of which we had none left, to give the ship boat-hose tops. Some of the men were also occupied in salting cod; for, having two Newfoundland fishermen in the Centurion, the commodore set them to work in providing a considerable quantity of salted cod for sea-store; though very little of it was used, as it was afterwards thought to be equally productive of scurvy with any other kind of salted provisions.

It has been before mentioned, that we set up a copper oven on shore, to bake bread for the sick: But it happened that the greatest part of the flour, for the use of the squadron, was on board the Anna pink. It should also have been mentioned, that the Tryal sloop informed us, on her arrival, that she had fallen in with our victualler, on the 9th of May, not far from the coast of Chili, and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a gale of wind. This gave us some room to hope that she was safe, and might rejoin us: But, all June and July having passed without any news of her, we gave her over for lost; and the commodore, at the end of July, ordered all the ships on a short allowance of bread. Neither was it in bread alone that we feared a deficiency: For, since our arrival at Juan Fernandez, it was discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the commodore had expressly ordered him to receive; so that the supposed loss of our victualler was, on all accounts, a most mortifying circumstance.

About noon on Thursday the 16th of August, after we had given over all hopes of the Anna pink, a sail was espied in the northern quarter, on which a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion, to call off the people from the shore, who readily obeyed the summons, by repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to fetch them on board. Being now prepared for the reception of the ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations respecting her, many supposing at first, that it was the Tryal sloop

sloop returning from the examination of Masefuero. As she drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by observing that she had three masts, when other conjectures were eagerly canvassed; some judging the vessel in sight to be the Severn and others the Pearl, while several affirmed that she did not belong to our squadron. But, about three in the afternoon, all speculations were ended by the unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler, the Anna pink. And, though this ship had fallen in with the island to the northward like the Gloucester, she yet had the good fortune to come to anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the utmost satisfaction, as the ship's companies were immediately restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now relieved from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short before we could reach some friendly port,—a calamity, in these seas, of all others the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us; and, as the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune she afterwards experienced, are worthy of a separate narration, I shall refer them, together with a short account of the other missing ships, to the ensuing section.

SECTION XIII.

Short Account of what befell the Anna Pink before she rejoined; with an Account of the Loss of the Wager, and the putting back of the Severn and Pearl.

ON the first recognition of the Anna pink, it seemed quite wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which had thus come to the rendezvous two months after us, should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, and with so little appearance of debility and distress. This difficulty, however, was soon solved after she came to anchor; for we then found that she had been in harbour since the middle of May, near a month before our arrival at Juan Fernandez, so that their sufferings, excepting the risk they had run of being shipwrecked, were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron.

They fell in with the land on the 16th of May, in lat. 45° 15′ S. being then about four leagues from shore. On the first sight of it, they wore ship and stood to the southward; but

but their fore-sail splitting, and the wind being strong at W.S.W. they drove towards the shore. The captain, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered now for the coast, in order to look out for some shelter among the many islands which appeared in sight, and had the good fortune to bring the ship to anchor to the eastward of the island of *Inchin*.[1] But, as they did not run sufficiently near the east shore of that island, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastwards, deepening their water from twenty-five to thirty-five fathoms. Still continuing to drive, they next day, being the 17th May, let go their sheet anchor, which brought them up for a short time: but on the 18th they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathoms; and, being now within a mile of the land, they expected every moment to be forced on shore in a place where the coast was so very high and steep, that there was not the smallest prospect of saving the ship and cargo. As their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves up for lost, believing, if even any of them happened to get on shore by some extraordinary chance, that they would be almost certainly massacred by the savages; as these people, knowing no other Europeans except Spaniards, might be expected to treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they have so often, and so signally, exercised against their Spanish neighbours.

Under these terrifying circumstances, the Anna continued to drive towards the rocks which formed the shore; and at last, when expecting every instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes of safety. Wherefore, immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for this opening, which they found to be a narrow opening between an island and the main, which led them into a most excellent harbour; which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the consequent smoothness of its water, may perhaps vie with any in the known world: And this place, being scarcely two miles from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck and

[1] The island of Inchin, and the bay in which the Anna pink took shelter, is in lat. 46° 30′ S. long. 74° 30′ in what is called the Peninsula de tres Montes, to the N. of the Golfo de Penas.—E.

and immediate death, with which they had been so long and strongly possessed, vanished almost in an instant, giving place to the most joyous ideas of security, refreshment, and repose.

In this harbour, discovered almost by miracle, the Anna came to anchor in twenty-five fathoms, with only a hawser and small anchor of about three hundred weight. Here she continued for near two months, and her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, which they procured in abundance, and the excellent water which they found in plenty on the adjacent shore. As this place may prove of the greatest importance to future navigators forced upon this coast by the western winds, which are almost perpetual in that part of the world, it may be proper to give the best account that could be collected of this port, as to its situation, conveniences, and productions, before continuing the adventures of the Anna pink. To facilitate, also, the knowledge of this place, to such as may be desirous hereafter of using it, there is annexed a plan both of the harbour and the large bay before it, through which the Anna drifted. This plan, perhaps, may not be in all respects as accurate as could be wished, being composed from the memorandums and rude sketches of the master and surgeon, who were not the most able draughtsmen; but, as the principal parts were laid down by their estimates of their distances from each other, in which kind of computation seamen are commonly very dextrous, the errors are probably not very considerable.

The latitude, which certainly is a very material point, was not very accurately ascertained, as the Anna had no observation either on the day she got there, or within a day of leaving the bay; but is supposed to be not very distant from 45° 30′ S.[2] But the large extent of the bay, at the bottom of which the harbour is situated, renders this uncertainty of the less importance. The island lying before this bay, called *Inchin* by the Indians, is supposed to be one of the islands named *Chonos* by the Spanish accounts, and said to spread along all this coast,[3] being inhabited by a barbarous people, famous

[2] This has already, on the authority of Arrowsmith, been stated at 46° 30′ S.

[3] The gulf and archipelago of Chonos, or Guaytecas, one of the islands of which is Socora, or Guayteca, is considerably to the N. of Inchin, between the peninsula de tres Montes and the island of Chiloe, the centre of that archipelago being in lat. 45° S.—E.

famous for their hatred to the Spaniards, and their cruelty to such of that nation as have fallen into their hands. It is even possible that the land in which this harbour is situated may be one of these islands, while the continent may be considerably to the eastward. This harbour, besides its depth of water and complete shelter, has two coves, where ships may very conveniently be hove down, as the water is constantly smooth. There are also several fine runs of excellent fresh water, which fall into the harbour, some so conveniently situated that the casks may be filled in the long-boat by means of a hose. The most remarkable of these is a stream in the N.E. part of the harbour, being a fresh-water river, where the crew of the Anna caught a few mullets of excellent flavour, and they were persuaded that it would be found to have plenty of fish in the proper season, it being winter when they were there.

The principal refreshments of green vegetables met with at this port were wild cellery, nettle-tops, and the like, which, after so long a continuance at sea, were highly acceptable. We got abundance of shell-fish, as cockles and muscles of great size and delicious flavour, with plenty of geese, shags, and penguins. Though in the depth of winter the climate was by no means extremely rigorous, neither were the trees or the face of the country destitute of verdure; whence it may be concluded, that many other kinds of fresh provisions would doubtless be found there in summer. Notwithstanding the relations of the Spaniards respecting the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it does not appear that their numbers are sufficient to excite any apprehensions in the crew of a ship of any size, or that their dispositions are by any means so mischievous or merciless as has been represented. With all these advantages, this place is so far from the frontiers of the Spanish settlements, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that, with proper precautions, there is reason to believe a ship might remain here a long time undiscovered. It is also capable of being made a very defensible port; as, by possessing the island that closes up the port or inner harbour, which island is only accessible in a very few places, a small force might easily secure this port against all the force which the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world. For this island is so steep towards the harbour, having six fathoms close to the shore, that the Anna anchored within forty yards of its coast; whence it is obvious

obvious how difficult it would prove, either to board or cut out any vessel protected by a force posted on shore within pistol-shot, and where those thus posted could not be themselves attacked. All these circumstances seem to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped that this rude attempt to suggest, may hereafter recommend it to the consideration of the public, and the attention of those who are more immediately entrusted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this account of the place where the Anna lay for two months, it may be expected that I should relate the discoveries made by her crew upon the adjacent coast, and the principal incidents that occurred during their stay here. But, as they were only a few in number, they durst not venture to detach any of their people on distant searches, being under continual apprehensions of being attacked either by the Spaniards or Indians, so that their excursions were generally confined to the tract of land surrounding the port, where they were never out of view of the ship: Even if they had known from the first how little grounds there were for these fears, yet the neighbouring country was so overgrown with wood, and so traversed by mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate to any distance, so that no account of the interior could be expected. They were, however, in a condition to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who have represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people, as no such inhabitants were to be found, at least in the winter season; for, during the whole time of their continuance here, they never saw any more than one small Indian family, which came into the harbour in a periagua, or canoe, about a month after the arrival of the Anna, and consisted only of one Indian man, near forty years of age, his wife, and two children, one about three years of age, and the other still on the breast. They seemed to have with them all their property, consisting of a dog and cat, a fishing net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees, intended for covering a hut, a reel with some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue, and very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread.

As soon as these were perceived, the master of the Anna sent his yawl and brought them on board; and, lest they might discover him to the Spaniards if permitted to go away, he took proper precautions, as he conceived, for securing them,

them, but without violence or ill usage, as they were permitted to go about the ship where they pleased in the day time, but were locked up in the forecastle at night. As they were fed in the same manner with the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not appear at first that they were much dissatisfied with their situation. The master took the Indian on shore when he went to shoot, and he seemed always much delighted on seeing the game killed. The crew also treated them with great humanity; but it was soon apparent, though the woman continued easy and cheerful, that the man grew pensive and discontented at his confinement. He seemed to have good natural parts, and though utterly unable to converse with our people otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and showed great dexterity in his manner of making himself understood. Seeing so few people on board so large a ship, he seemed to express his opinion that they had once been more numerous, and, by way of representing what he imagined had become of their companions, he laid himself on the deck, closing his eyes, and stretching himself out motionless, as if to imitate the appearance of a dead body.

The strongest proof of his sagacity was the manner of his getting away. After having been on board the Anna for eight days, the scuttle of the forecastle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be left unnailed, and on the following night, which was extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl, and immediately rowed on shore, using the precaution to cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing astern, to prevent being pursued. He conducted all this with so much silence and secrecy, that, though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, he was not discovered by them till the noise of his oars in the water gave notice of his escape, after he had put off from the ship, when it was too late either to prevent or pursue him. Besides, as their boats were all adrift, it was some time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore to search for their boats. By this effort, besides regaining his liberty, the Indian was in some measure revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were in for the loss of their boats, and by the terror occasioned by his departure; for,

for, on the first alarm of the watch, who cried, "*The Indians*," the whole crew were in the utmost confusion, believing that the ship had been boarded by a whole fleet of armed canoes.

Had the resolution and sagacity with which this Indian behaved on this occasion, been exerted on a more extensive object, it might have immortalized the exploit, and given him a rank among the illustrious names of antiquity. The people of the Anna, indeed, allowed that it was a most gallant enterprise, and were grieved at having thus been under the necessity, from attention to their own safety, to abridge the liberty of one who had now given so distinguished a proof of courage and prudence. As he was supposed still to continue in the woods near the port, where he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed on the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought would be most agreeable to him in a place where he was likely to find it, and there was reason to believe this was not altogether without its use, for, on visiting the place afterwards, the provisions were gone, and in a manner that made them conclude they had fallen into his hands.

Although many of the crew of the Anna believed that this Indian still continued in the neighbourhood, there were some who strongly suspected he might have gone off to the island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprise or overpower the Anna. The master was therefore prevailed upon to discontinue firing the evening gun, and there is a particular reason for attending to this circumstance, to be explained hereafter; for he had hitherto, from an ostentatious imitation of the men-of-war, fired a gun every evening at setting the night watch. This, as he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there were any within hearing, and to convince them that his ship was always on her guard. The crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he put to sea a few days after the escape of the Indian, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez, where he arrived on the 16th of August, as already mentioned.

The remaining ships of the squadron, none of which rejoined the commodore, were the Severn, Pearl, and Wager, of the fate of which it may be proper to make mention. The Severn and Pearl parted company from the commodore off

Cape

Cape Voir; and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to Brazil. The Wager had on board a few field-pieces, and some coehorn-mortars, mounted for land service, with several kinds of artillery stores and pioneers tools, intended for operations on shore. And, as an enterprise had been planned against Baldivia, for the first operation of the squadron, Captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that these articles might be forthcoming, and determined to use his endeavours for that purpose, that no delay or disappointment might be imputed to him, not knowing the state the squadron was reduced to. While making the best of his way, with these views, to the first appointed rendezvous, off Socoro, whence he proposed to proceed for Baldivia, the Wager made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47° S. and while Captain Cheap was exerting himself in order to get clear of the land, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, by which he dislocated his shoulder, and was rendered incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land; insomuch, that at day-break next morning, the 15th May, she struck on a sunken rock, and soon afterwards bilged, and grounded between two small islands, about musket-shot from the shore.

In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew might have got safe on shore. But a general confusion ensued; many of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose their proceedings. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they made themselves so excessively intoxicated, that some fell down into the hold, where they were drowned, as the water flowed into the wreck. Having done his utmost, ineffectually, to get the whole crew on shore, the captain was at last obliged to leave the mutineers behind, and to follow his officers on shore, with such few men as he could prevail upon to accompany him; but did not fail to send back the boats, with a message to those who remained, entreating them to have some regard to their own preservation. All his efforts, however, were for some time in vain; but next day, the weather proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship

ship going to pieces, the refractory part of the crew began to be afraid of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land; and, in their madness, as the boat did not come to fetch them off so soon as they wished, they pointed a four-pounder from the quarter-deck, against the hut in which the captain resided on shore, and fired two shots, which passed just over its roof.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, some idea may be formed of the disorder and anarchy which prevailed when they at length got all on shore. For the men conceived that the authority of their officers was at an end, in consequence of the loss of the ship; and, as they were now upon an inhospitable coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got beyond what could be saved from the wreck, this was another insurmountable source of discord: for the working upon the wreck, and securing the provisions on shore, so that they might be preserved as much as possible for future exigencies, and that they might be sparingly and equally distributed for present subsistence, were matters, however important, that could not be brought about unless by means of discipline and subordination. At the same time, the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the immediate impulses of hunger, rendered every regulation attempted for these indispensable purposes, quite unavailing; so that there were continual frauds, concealments, and thefts, which animated every one against his neighbour, and produced infinite contentions and perpetual quarrels. Hence a perverse and malevolent disposition was constantly kept up among them, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Besides these heart-burnings, occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their difference in opinion from him, on the measures proper to be pursued on the present emergency; for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit out the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward, as, having above two hundred men in health, and having saved some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he had no doubt of being able to master any Spanish vessel they might fall in with in these seas, and he thought that he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when taken, he proposed to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez. He also

also insisted, should they even meet with no prize by the way, that the boats alone could easily carry them to Juan Fernandez. But this scheme, however prudent and practicable, was by no means relished by the generality of the people; for, quite jaded and disgusted with the fatigues, dangers, and distresses they had already encountered, they could not be persuaded to prosecute an enterprize which had hitherto proved so disastrous. The common resolution, therefore, was to lengthen the long-boat, and, with her and the other boats, to steer to the southwards, to pass through the Straits of Magellan, and to range along the eastern coast of South America, till they came to Brazil, where they had no doubt of being well received, and procuring a passage to Britain.

This project was evidently a vast deal more tedious, and infinitely more hazardous, than that proposed by the captain; but, as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hope of getting once more to their native country, that circumstance rendered them blind to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy. The captain was therefore obliged to give way to the torrent, though he never changed his opinion, and had, in appearance, to acquiesce in this resolution, though he gave it all the obstruction he could, particularly in regard to lengthening the long-boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, as, though it might carry them to Juan Fernandez, he yet hoped might appear incapable of so long a navigation as that to the coast of Brazil. But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him, to which, also, the following unhappy accident greatly contributed.

A midshipman, named Cozens, had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew, had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the authority of the captain, and had even treated the captain himself with much insolence and abuse. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted that some violent measures were in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader; for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. One day the purser having stopped, by order of the captain, the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man had not complained to him, intermeddled in the affair

with

with great bitterness, and grossly insulted the purser, who was then delivering out the provisions close by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent. Enraged by his scurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, the purser cried out, *A mutiny;* adding, *the dog has pistols*, and then immediately fired himself a pistol at Cozens, but missed him. On hearing this outcry, and the report of the pistol, the captain rushed out from his tent, and not doubting that it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, immediately shot him in the head without farther enquiry. Though he did not die on the spot, the wound proved mortal in about a fortnight.

Though this accident was sufficiently displeasing to the people, it yet awed them for a considerable time to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the authority of the captain. But at last, towards the middle of October, when the long-boat was finished, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation given them, by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a sufficient party to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to take advantage of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England to be tried for murder, and he was accordingly confined under a guard. Yet they never meant to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they might expect on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them; and therefore, when just ready to depart, they set him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who chose to take their fortunes along with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed upon to turn back.

When the ship was wrecked, there were about one hundred and thirty persons alive on board; above thirty of whom died on the place where they landed, and nearly eight went off in the long-boat and cutter to the southward; after whose departure, there remained no more than nineteen persons along with the captain, which were as many, however, as the barge and yawl could well carry, these being the only embarkations left them. It was on the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and sailed to the southwards, gi-

ving

ving three cheers at their departure to the captain and Lieutenant Hamilton of the land-forces, and the surgeon, who were then standing on the beach. On the 29th of January, 1742, they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil; but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places where they touched, and a still greater number having perished of famine in the course of their navigation, there were not more than thirty of them remaining, when they arrived at that port. This undertaking was certainly most extraordinary in itself; for, not to mention the great length of the voyage, the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provisions, being only what they saved from the ship, diminished by five months expenditure on shore, was extremely slender. They had also this additional misfortune, that the cutter, the only boat they had along with them, broke loose from their stern, and was staved to pieces, so that, when their provisions and water failed, they had frequently no means of getting on shore in search of a supply.

The captain and those who remained with him, now proposed to proceed to the northward in the barge and yawl; but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months after the departure of the long boat, before they were able to put to sea. It seems that the place where the Wager was lost, was not a part of the continent, but an island at some distance from the main, affording no other sort of provisions besides shell-fish, and a few herbs; and, as the greatest part of what they had saved out of the wreck had been carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, especially as they chose to preserve what little remained to them of the ship's provisions, to serve them as sea-store, when they should proceed to the northward. During their residence at this place, which was called Wager Island by the seamen, they were now and then visited by a straggling canoe or two of Indians, who came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was some little relief to their necessities, and might perhaps have been greater at another season; for there were several Indian huts on the shore, whence it was supposed that, in some years, many of these savages might resort thither in the height of summer, to catch fish. Indeed, from what has been

been related in the account of the Anna pink, it would seem to be the general practice of these Indians, to frequent this coast in the summer season, for the purpose of fishing, and to retire more to the northwards in winter, into a better climate.

It is worthy of remark, how much it is to be lamented that the people of the Wager had no knowledge of the Anna pink being so near them on the coast;[4] for, as she was not above thirty leagues from them at the most, and came into that neighbourhood about the same time that the Wager was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandez. Indeed, I suspect that she was still nearer them than is here estimated; for, at different times, several of the people belonging to the Wager heard the report of a cannon, which could be no other than the evening gun fired by the Anna, as formerly mentioned, more especially as the gun heard at Wager Island was at that time of the day.

Captain Cheap and his people embarked in the barge and yawl, on the 14th of December, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board along with them all the provisions they could gather from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea to run so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions overboard, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food was so difficult to be got; yet they persisted in their design, going on shore as often as they could, in search of subsistence. About a fortnight after their departure from Wager island, another dreadful accident befel them, as the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of her hands was drowned; and, as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them, on that desolate coast. They still, however, kept their course to the northward; though greatly delayed by cross winds, and by the frequent interruptions occasioned by the necessity

[4] Inchin island, where the Anna pink lay, has been formerly stated to be in lat. 46° 30′ S. the supposed latitude in which the Wager was lost, stated in the text at 47° S. is only *ten* marine leagues to the southward, instead of *thirty*, and must therefore have been on some one of the islands toward the southern coast of the peninsula de Tres Montes, on the north of the Golfo de Penas.—E.

sity of searching for food on shore, and constantly struggling with a series of the most sinister events. At length, about the end of January, 1742, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a head-land, which they supposed to be that called Cape *Tres Montes* by the Spaniards, and finding the difficulty insurmountable, they unanimously resolved to return to Wager Island, which they effected about the middle of February, quite disheartened and desponding, through their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

On their return, they had the good fortune to fall in with several pieces of beef, swimming in the sea, which had been washed out of the wreck, which afforded them a most seasonable relief, after the hardships they had endured. To complete their good fortune, there came shortly afterwards to the place two canoes with Indians, among whom there happened to be a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish. The surgeon who accompanied Captain Cheap understood that language, and made a bargain with the Chiloe Indian, that, if he would carry the captain and his people in the barge to Chiloe, he should have her and all her furniture for his reward. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons, to which the company was now reduced, embarked again in the barge on this new expedition. After having proceeded a few days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who remained in the barge along with an Indian, shoved her off and put to sea, and never returned again.

Captain Cheap, together with Mr Hamilton, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr Byron and Mr Campbell, midshipmen, and Mr Elliot, the surgeon, were thus left on shore in the most deplorable situation imaginable. It might be thought that their distresses, long before this time, were hardly capable of being increased: Yet they found their present situation much more dismaying than any thing they had hitherto experienced; being left on a desert coast, far from the haunts of men, without provisions, or the means of procuring any, and with no visible prospect of relief; for their arms and ammunition, and every convenience that had hitherto remained to them, except the few tattered garments they had on, were all carried away in the barge. While revolving the various circumstances of this new and unlooked-for calamity, and sadly persuaded that they had no possible relief

relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that belonging to the Indian of Chiloe, who had undertaken to convey them to that island. He it seems had left Captain Cheap and his people, only a little before, to go a fishing in his canoe, accompanied by his family, leaving the barge in the mean time under the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried with them to sea. When he came on shore, and found the barge and his companion gone, he was much concerned, and was with difficulty persuaded that his companion had not been murdered; yet, being at last satisfied with the account that was given him by Mr Elliot, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and, being well skilled in fishing and fowling, he undertook also to provide them in provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and his four remaining companions set out for Chiloe; their Indian conductor having provided several canoes, and gathered many of his countrymen together for that purpose. Mr Elliot, the surgeon, soon afterwards died, so that there now only remained four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage, partly by sea and partly by land, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Campbell, arrived at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr Hamilton did not get there till two months later. It was thus above a twelvemonth, from the loss of the Wager, before this fatiguing peregrination terminated. The four who now remained were brought so extremely low, by their fatigues and privations, that in all probability none of them would have survived, had their distresses continued only a few days longer. The captain was with difficulty recovered; and the rest were so reduced by labour, the severity of the weather, scantiness of food, and want of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they had supported themselves so long.

After some stay at Chiloe, the captain and the other three who were with him, were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year, and where they were joined by Mr Hamilton. News arriving that a cartel had been settled between Great Britain and Spain, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe in a French ship. Mr Campbell, the other midshipman, having changed his religion,

gion while at St Jago, chose to go from thence to Buenos Ayres along with Pizarro and his officers, overland, and went with them afterwards to Spain in the Asia: But failing in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted in vain to get re-instated in the British navy. He has since published a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injustice that has been done him, and strongly disavows having ever been in the Spanish service; but, as the change of his religion, and his offering himself to the court of Spain, though he was not accepted, are matters which he must be conscious can be incontestibly proved, he has been entirely silent on these two heads.[5]

SECTION XIV.

Conclusion of Proceedings at Juan Fernandez, from the Arrival of the Anna Pink, to our final Departure from thence.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of the Anna pink, the Tryal sloop, which had been sent to examine the island of Masefuero, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandez, having gone entirely round that island, without seeing any one of our squadron. As, on this occasion, the island of Masefuero was more particularly examined, I have no doubt, than it had ever been before, or perhaps ever may be again, and, as the knowledge of it may be of great consequence hereafter, under peculiar circumstances, I think it incumbent to insert the accounts given of it by the officers of the Tryal.

The Spaniards have generally mentioned two islands, under the name of Juan Fernandez, naming them the greater and the less;[1] the greater being that island where we anchored,

[5] The circumstances connected with the loss of the Wager, and of the separation of the Severn and the Pearl, will be given more at large, by way of supplement to this circumnavigation. The incidents which occur to bold and unfortunate navigators are certainly curious and interesting; but the author of Anson's Voyage seems to have forgotten, that the circumstances respecting the countries they visited, especially such as these which are so little known, are of infinitely greater public utility.—E.

[1] They also distinguish the greater by the name of Isla de Tierra, as being nearer the main land of Chili. There is yet a third and smallest island,

chored, and the less that we are now about to describe; which, because it is more distant from the continent, they call Masefuero. The Tryal found that it bore from the greater Juan Fernandez, W. by S. about twenty-two leagues distant. It is much larger and better than has been usually represented, being reported by former writers as a small barren rock, destitute of wood and water, and altogether inaccessible. Whereas our people found that it was covered with trees, and that there were several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea. They found, also, that there is a place on its north side, where a ship might come to an anchor, though indeed the anchorage be inconvenient; for the bank is steep, and extends only a little way, and has very deep water, so that she must anchor very near the shore, and be there exposed to all winds, except those from the southward. Besides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is also a reef of rocks, about two miles in length, running off the eastern point of the island, though these are little to be feared, because always to be seen, by the sea breaking over them. This island has at present one advantage beyond Juan Fernandez, as it abounds in goats; and as these are not accustomed to be disturbed, they were no way shy till they had been frequently fired at. These animals reside here in great tranquillity, as the Spaniards, not thinking this island sufficiently considerable to be frequented by their enemies, have not been solicitous to destroy the provisions it contains, so that no dogs have hitherto been put on shore there. Besides goats, the people of the Tryal found there vast numbers of seals and sea lions; and upon the whole, though they did not consider it as the most eligible place for ships to refresh at, yet, in case of necessity, it might afford some sort of shelter, and prove of considerable use, especially to a single ship, apprehensive of meeting an enemy at Juan Fernandez.

The latter end of the month of December was spent in unloading the provisions from the Anna pink; when we had the mortification to find, that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, groats, &c. were decayed and unfit for use. This had been occasioned by the Anna taking in water, by her working and straining in bad weather; owing to which

a little way from the S.W. extremity of the largest, called J. de Cabras or Conejos, Goat or Rabbit island.—E.

which several of her casks had rotted, and many of her bags were soaked through. Having now no farther occasion for her services, the commodore, pursuant to his orders from the admiralty, sent notice to her master, Mr Gerard, that he now discharged the Anna pink from attending the squadron, and gave him a certificate at the same time, specifying how long she had been employed. In consequence of this dismission, her master was left at liberty, either to return directly to England, or to make the best of his way to any port where he thought he could take in such a cargo as might serve the interest of his owners. But, sensible of the bad condition of his ship, and her unfitness for any such voyage, the master wrote next day to the commodore, stating, that he had reason to apprehend the bottom of the Anna to be very much decayed, from the great quantity of water she had let in on her passage round Cape Horn, and ever since, in the tempestuous weather she had experienced on the coast of Patagonia; that her upper decks were rotten abaft; that she was extremely leaky; that her fore-beam was broken; and, in short, that, in his opinion, it was impossible to proceed with her to sea, unless she were thoroughly repaired. He therefore requested of the commodore, that the carpenters of the squadron might be directed to survey her, so that their judgment of her condition might be known.

In compliance with this request, the carpenters were ordered to make a careful and accurate survey of the Anna, and to give in a faithful report to the commodore of her condition; directing them to proceed with such circumspection, that they might be able, if hereafter called upon, to confirm the veracity of their report upon oath. Pursuant to these orders, the carpenters immediately set about the examination, and made their report next day. This was in substance, That the Anna had no less than fourteen knees and twelve beams broken and decayed; one breast-hook broken, and another decayed; her water-ways open and decayed; two standards and several clamps broken, besides others much rotten; all her iron-work greatly decayed; her spirkiting and timbers very rotten; that, having ripped off part of her sheathing, her wales and outside planks were extremely defective; and her bows and decks were very leaky. From all these defects and decays, they certified that, in their opinion, the vessel could not depart from Juan Fernandez, without great hazard, unless previously thoroughly repaired.

In

In our present situation, this thorough repair was impracticable, all the plank and iron in the squadron being insufficient for that purpose. Wherefore, the opinion of the master being confirmed by this report, he presented a petition to the commodore, in behalf of his owners, praying, as his vessel was incapable of leaving the island, that her hull, materials, and furniture, might be purchased for the use of the squadron. The commodore, therefore, ordered an inventory to be taken of every thing belonging to the pink, with its just value; and as many of her stores might become useful in repairing the other ship, these articles having become very scarce, in consequence of the great quantities already expended, he agreed with Mr Gerard to purchase the whole for £300. The pink was now broken up, Mr Gerard and her hands being sent on board the Gloucester, as that ship had buried the greatest number of men in proportion to her complement. Two or three of them were afterwards received into the Centurion on their petition, as they were averse from sailing in the same ship with their old master, on account of some ill usage they alledged to have suffered from him.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September, by which time our people were so far recovered from the scurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more for the present. I shall therefore now sum up the whole of our loss since our departure from England, the better to convey some idea of our past sufferings and our then remaining strength. In the Centurion, since leaving St Helens, we had buried 292 men, and had 214 remaining. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality, yet that in the Gloucester had been much greater; as, out of a much smaller crew than ours, she had lost the same number, and had only 82 remaining alive. It might have been expected that the mortality would have been the most terrible in the Tryal, as her decks were almost constantly knee deep in water: But it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the other two, having only buried 42, and had 39 remaining alive. The havoc of this cruel disease had fallen still more severely on the invalids and marines, than on the sailors. For, in the Centurion, out of 50 invalids and 79 marines, there only remained four invalids, including officers, and 11 marines. In the Gloucester every invalid perished; and of 48 marines, only two escaped. It appears from

from this account, that the three ships departed from England with 961 men on board, of whom 626 were dead, and 335 men and boys only remained alive; a number greatly insufficient for manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour.

This prodigious reduction of our men was the more alarming, as we were hitherto unacquainted with the fate of the squadron under Pizarro, and had reason to suppose that some part of it, at least, had got round into the South Seas. We were, indeed, much of opinion, from our own sad experience, that they must have suffered greatly in the passage: but then every port in the South Sea was open to them, and the whole power of Peru and Chili would be exerted for their refreshment and repair, and for recruiting their loss of men. We had, also, some obscure information of a force to be fitted out against us from Paluo; and, however contemptible the ships and sailors of this part of the world may have been generally esteemed, it was hardly possible for any thing bearing the name of a ship of war, to be feebler or less considerable than ourselves. Even if there had been nothing to apprehend from the naval power of the Spaniards in these seas, yet our enfeebled situation necessarily gave us great uneasiness, as we were incapable of making an attempt against any of their considerable places; for, in our state of weakness, the risking even of twenty men, would have put the safety of the whole in hazard. We conceived, therefore, that we should be forced to content ourselves with what prizes we might be able to fall in with at sea, before we were discovered, and then to depart precipitately, and esteem ourselves fortunate to regain our native country; leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconsiderable mischief they had suffered from a squadron which had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions. We had reason to imagine the Spanish ostentation would remarkably exert itself on this subject, though our disappointment and their security neither originated in their valour nor our misconduct. Such were the desponding reflections which at this time arose, on the review and comparison of our remaining weakness with our original strength: And, indeed, our fears were far from being groundless, or disproportionate to our feeble and almost desperate condition: For, though the final event proved more honourable than we foreboded, yet the intermediate calamities did like-

wise

wise surpass our most gloomy apprehensions; and, could these have been predicted to us while at Juan Fernandez, they would doubtless have appeared insurmountable.

In the beginning of September, as already mentioned, our men being tolerably well recovered, and the season of navigation in these seas drawing nigh, we exerted ourselves in getting our ships ready for sea. We converted the foremast of the Anna into a new main-mast for the Tryal; and, still flattering ourselves with the possible hope of some other ships of our squadron arriving, we intended to leave the main-mast of the Anna, to make a new mizen-mast for the Wager. All hands being thus employed in preparing for our departure, we espied a sail to the N.E. about eleven a. m. of the 18th September, which continued to approach us till her courses appeared even with the horizon. While advancing, we had great hopes that this might prove one of our squadron; but she at length steered away to the eastward, without hauling in for the island, on which we concluded that she must be Spanish. Great differences of opinion now took place, as to the possibility of her people having discovered our tents on shore; some of us strongly insisting, that she certainly had been near enough to have seen something that had given them a jealousy to an enemy, which had occasioned her standing away to the eastwards. Leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her; and, as the Centurion was in the greatest forwardness, all her hands were got immediately on board, her rigging set up, and her sails bent with all possible expedition, and we got under sail by five in the evening.

At this time we had so very little wind, that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay, and what wind there was lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it fell dead calm. As night came on we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of light, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed, as well as we; yet her great distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary, as we actually found in the morning, to our great mortification; for, though the weather was then quite clear, we had no sight of the chase from the mast-head. But, being now quite satisfied that she was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the chase lightly; and, on a small breeze springing up from the W.N.W. we got up our top-

gallant

gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered S.E. in hopes of retrieving the chase, which we imagined might be bound for Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next; and then, seeing nothing of the chase, gave over the pursuit, believing that she had, in all probability, reached her port.

Resolving to return to Juan Fernandez, we hauled up to the S.W. having very little wind till the 12th, at three a. m. when a gale sprung up at W.S.W. which obliged us to tack and stand to the N.W. At day-break, we were agreeably surprised by the appearance of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant, on which we crowded all sail and stood towards her, soon perceiving she was a different vessel from that we had chased before. She at first bore down towards us, shewing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to a consort; but, seeing we did not answer her signal, she instantly loofed close to the wind and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in high spirits, and put about ship with great briskness; and, as the chase appeared a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we imagined that she must be a man of war, and probably belonged to the squadron of Pizarro. This induced the commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, along with several casks of water and provisions, that stood between the guns; so that we had a clear ship, ready for action. About nine a. m. it came on thick hazy weather, with a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chase, and were apprehensive, if this weather should continue, she might escape us, by going on the other tack, or some other device. The weather cleared up, however, in less than an hour, when we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her considerably, and were then near enough to perceive that she was only a merchant ship, without a single tire of guns. About half an hour after twelve noon, being within reasonable distance, we fired four shot among her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant-sails and stay-sails all fluttering in the wind. This was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards, just as we fired at them; after which not a man among them would venture aloft to take them in, as our shot had passed there just before.

As soon as the vessel came within hail of us, the commodore

dore ordered her to bring to under his lee quarter; and having the boat hoisted out, sent our first lieutenant, Mr Saumarez, to take possession of the prize, with orders to send all the prisoners on board the Centurion, the officers and passengers first. When Mr Saumarez boarded the prize, he was received by her people at the side with the most abject tokens of submission; as they were all, especially the passengers, who were twenty-five in number, extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage. But the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courtesy, to dissipate their terror, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the commodore, who was no less remarkable for his lenity and humanity, than for courage and resolution. The prisoners who were first sent on board the Centurion, informed us, that the prize was called *Neustra Lenora del Monte Carmelo,* and her commander Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and a great quantity of blue cloth, made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our coarse English broad cloth, but inferior. They had also several bales of a coarser cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester baize, called by them *Panniada Tierra;* with a few bales of cotton, and some tolerably well-flavoured tobacco, though strong. These were her principal goods; but we found besides, what was much more valuable than the rest of her cargo, some trunks full of wrought silver plate, and twenty-three serons of dollars, each weighing upwards of two hundred pounds.[2] This ship was of about 450 tons burden, having on board 53 sailors, including whites and blacks. She came from Calao, bound for Valparaiso, and had been twenty-seven days at sea. Her return cargo from Chili was to have been corn and Chili wine, with some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which is afterwards converted at Calao into larger rope. This vessel had been built thirty years before; yet, as they lie in harbour all winter, and the climate is remarkably favourable, she was not considered as very old. Her rigging and sails were very indifferent, the latter being of cotton. She had only three four-

[2] A seron is a species of package made and used in Spanish America, consisting of a piece of raw bullock's hide with the hair on, formed while wet into the shape of a small trunk, and sewed together. The quantity of dollars taken on this occasion may have been between seventy and eighty thousand.—E.

four-pounders, which were quite unserviceable, as their carriages could scarcely support them; and they had no small arms on board, except a few pistols belonging to the passengers. They had sailed from Callao in company with two other ships, which they had parted from a few days before, and had at first taken our ship for one of their consorts; and, by the description we gave of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandez, they assured us that she was one of their number; although the coming in sight of that island is directly contrary to the merchant's instructions, as knowing, if any English ships should be in these seas, that this island is most likely to be their place of rendezvous.

We met with very important intelligence in this prize, partly from the prisoners, and partly from letters and papers that fell into our hands. By these we first learnt with certainty the force and destination of that squadron which cruised off Madeira at our arrival there, and had afterwards chased the Pearl in our passage to Port St Julian. This squadron we now knew to be composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and purposely fitted out to traverse our designs, as has been already more amply related in our third section. We had now the satisfaction to find, that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to get round into these seas, had been forced back to the Rio Plata, after losing two of his largest ships; which, considering our great weakness, was no unacceptable intelligence. We also learnt, that, though an embargo had been laid on all shipping in the ports of South America, by the viceroy of Peru, in the preceding month of May, on the supposition that we might then arrive on the coast, yet it now no longer subsisted: For, on receiving the account overland of the distresses of Pizarro, part of which they knew we must also have suffered; and, on hearing nothing of us for eight months after we were known to have left St Catharines, they were fully satisfied we must either have been shipwrecked, have perished at sea, or have been obliged to put back again; as they conceived it impossible for any ships to have continued at sea for so long an interval, and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the persuasion that we had miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This intelligence made us flatter ourselves, as the enemy was still ignorant of our having got round Cape Horn, and as navigation was restored, that we might meet with some va-

luable captures, and might indemnify ourselves in that way, of our incapacity to attempt any of their considerable settlements on shore. This much at least we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that, whatever might be our success in regard to prizes, we had nothing to fear, weak even as we were, from the Spanish force in that part of the world, though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril, when we least apprehended any, when our other distresses were at the greatest height. As we found, by letters in the prize, that Pizarro, in the dispatch he sent by express to the viceroy of Peru overland, after his own return to the Rio Plata, had intimated the possibility of some part of our squadron getting round; and as, from his own experience, he was certain any of our ships that might arrive in the South Seas must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the viceroy to send what ships of war he had to the southwards, in order to be secure at all events, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, before we had an opportunity of touching any where for refreshment; in which case he had no doubt of our proving an easy conquest. The viceroy approved this advice, and as he had already fitted out four ships of force at Callao, one of 50 guns, two of 40 each, and one of 24, which were intended to have joined Pizarro, three of these were stationed off the port of Conception, and one at the island of Juan Fernandez, where they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June; and then, conceiving it impossible that we could have kept the sea so long, they quitted this station and returned to Callao, fully persuaded we must either have perished, or been driven back.

Now, as the time when they left Juan Fernandez was only a few days before our arrival at that island, it is evident, if we had made it on our first search, without hauling in for the main to secure our easting, a circumstance we then considered as very unfortunate, on account of the many men we lost by our long continuance at sea; had we made the island 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near to have so done, we had inevitably fallen in with some part of the squadron from Callao; and in our then distressed condition, the encounter of a healthy and well-provided enemy might have proved fatal, not only to us in the Centurion, but also to the Tryal, Gloucester, and Anna pink, which separately joined us, and were each less capable to have resisted than we. I may also add, that these Spanish

ships,

ships, sent out to intercept us, had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise, and had been laid up after their return to Callao; and we were assured by our prisoners, that, when intelligence might be received at Lima of our being in the South Seas, it would require two months at least, before this armament could be refitted for going to sea.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we, in our reduced circumstances, could wish for; and we were now at no loss to account for the broken jars, ashes, and fish bones, which we had observed at Juan Fernandez on our first landing; these things having been doubtless the relics of the cruisers stationed at that island. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the most material articles of our enquiry, got all the silver on board the Centurion, and most of the prisoners, we made sail to the northward at eight that same evening, in company with our prize. We got sight of Juan Fernandez at six next morning, and the day following both we and our prize got safe there to anchor. When the prize and her crew came into the bay, in which the rest of our squadron lay, the Spaniards, who had been sufficiently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were astonished we had been able to surmount them, were still more surprised when they saw the Tryal sloop, that, after all our fatigues, we should have had the industry to complete such a vessel in so short a time, besides refitting our other ships, as they concluded we had certainly built her there; nor was it without great difficulty they could be brought to believe that she came from England with the rest of the squadron; for they long insisted, that it was impossible for such a bauble as she was to have passed round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were forced to put back.

By the time of our arrival at Juan Fernandez, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined, and it appeared from them, and from the examination of our prisoners, that several other merchant-ships were bound from Callao to Valparaiso. Whereupon, the commodore dispatched the Tryal sloop, the very next morning, to cruise off the port of Valparaiso, reinforcing her crew with ten men from the Centurion. The commodore resolved also, on the above intelligence, to employ the ships under his command in separate cruises, as by this means he might increase the chance of taking prizes, and should run less risk of being discovered, and alarming the coast. The spirits of our people were

were now greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated, by this earnest of success, so that they forgot all their past distresses, resumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured incessantly in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and preparing to leave the island.

These necessary occupations took us up four or five days, with all our industry and exertions; and in this interval, the commodore directed the guns of the Anna pink, being four six-pounders and four four-pounders, with two swivels, to be mounted in the Carmelo, our prize. He sent also on board the Gloucester, six Spanish passengers and twenty-three captured seamen, to assist in navigating that ship, and directed Captain Mitchell to leave the island as soon as possible, the service demanding the utmost despatch, giving him orders to proceed to the latitude of 5° S. and there to cruise off the high-land of Payta, at such distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. He was to continue on this station till joined by the Centurion; which was to be whenever it should be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ships of war at Callao, or on the commodore receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to divide our strength. These orders being delivered to Captain Mitchell of the Gloucester, and all our business completed, we weighed anchor in the Centurion, on Saturday the 19th of September, in company with our prize the Carmelo, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of Juan Fernandez, and steering to the eastward, with the intention of joining the Tryal sloop, on her station off Valparaiso, leaving the Gloucester still at anchor.

SECTION XV.

Our Cruise, from leaving Juan Fernandez, to the taking of Payta.

ALTHOUGH we left the bay on the 19th of September, yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the wind in the offing, it was the 22d of that month, in the evening, before we lost sight of Juan Fernandez; after which we continued our course to the eastward, in order to join the Tryal off Valparaiso. Next night the weather proved squally, and we split

split our main top-sail, which we then handed; but got it repaired and set again by next morning. In the evening, a little before sunset, we saw two sail to the eastward, on which our prize stood directly from us, to avoid any suspicion of our being cruisers, while we made ready for an engagement, and steered with all our canvass towards the two ships we had descried. We soon perceived, that one of them, which seemed a very stout ship, stood directly for us, while the other kept at a great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners having their lighted matches in their hands, only waiting orders to fire. But, as the commodore knew that she could not now escape, he ordered the master to hail the ship in Spanish; on which her commanding officer, who happened to be Mr Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, answered us in English, that she was a prize, taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other vessel at a distance was the Tryal, disabled in her masts.

We were soon after joined by the Tryal, when her commander, Captain Saunders, came on board the Centurion. He acquainted the commodore, that he had taken this ship on the 18th, being a prime sailor, which had cost him thirty-six hours chase before he could get up with her, and that for some time he gained so little upon her, that he almost despaired of ever making up with the chase. The Spaniards were at first alarmed, by seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, as the hull of the Tryal lay so low in the water, that no part of it appeared; yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the Tryal neared them, they at last laid aside their fears, and, recommending themselves to the protection of the blessed Virgin, they began to think themselves quite secure. Indeed, their success was near doing honour to their *Ave Marias;* for, altering their course in the night, and shutting close their cabin windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping: But a small crevice in one of their shutters rendered all their invocations of no avail; as the people of the Tryal perceived a light through this crevice, which they chased till they got within gun-shot; and then Captain Saunders alarmed them with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were beyond his reach. For some time, however, the chase still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression;

pression; but, just as the Tryal was about to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without opposition. She was named the *Arranzazu,* being one of the largest merchantmen employed in these seas, of about 600 tons burden, bound from Calao to Valparaiso, having much the same cargo with the Carmelo, our former prize, except that her silver amounted only to about 5000*l*. sterling.

To balance this success, we found that the Tryal had sprung her main-mast, and that her main-top-mast had come by the board; and next morning, as we were all standing to the eastward in a fresh gale at S. she had the additional misfortune to spring her fore-mast, so that now she had not a mast left on which she could carry sail. These unhappy circumstances were still further aggravated, by the impossibility of our being then able to assist her, for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out a boat, and consequently could not have any communication with her; so that we were obliged to lie-to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend upon her, as we could not possibly leave her in such a condition of distress. It was no small addition to our misfortunes, on this occasion, that we were all the while driving to leeward of our intended station, and at the very time, when, by our intelligence, we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear on the coast, and would now get into the port of Valparaiso unobstructed; and, I am convinced, the embarrassment we suffered by the dismasting of the Tryal, and our consequent absence from our intended station, deprived us of some very considerable captures.

The weather proved somewhat more moderate on the 27th, when we sent our boat for Captain Saunders, who came on board the Centurion, where he produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the Tryal, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that it was necessary to ply the pumps continually, even in moderate weather, and that they were then scarcely able to keep her free; insomuch that, in the late gale, though all the officers even had been engaged in turns at the pumps, yet the water had increased upon them; and that, on the whole, they apprehended her present condition to be so defective, that they must all inevitably perish if they met with much bad weather: For all which reasons, he petitioned the commodore

dore to take measures for their safety. The refittal of the Tryal, and the repair of her defects, were utterly beyond our power on the present conjuncture, for we had no masts to spare, no stores to complete her rigging, and no port in which she could be hove down, to examine and repair her bottom. Even had we possessed a port, and proper requisites for the purpose, it would yet have been extremely imprudent, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The commodore, therefore, had no choice left, but was under the necessity of taking out her people and destroying her. Yet, as he conceived it expedient to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the Tryal's prize, which had often been employed by the viceroy of Peru as a man-of-war, to be a frigate in his majesty's service, manning her with the crew of the Tryal, and giving commissions to the captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted thirty-two guns; but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that belonged to the Tryal, and eight that had been on board the Anna pink.

This affair being resolved on, the commodore gave orders to Captain Saunders to carry it into execution, directing him to take all the arms, stores, ammunition, and every thing else that could be of use, from the sloop, and then to scuttle and sink her. After all this was done, Captain Saunders was to proceed with his new frigate, now called the *Tryal's prize*, to cruise off the high-land of Valparaiso, keeping it from him N.N.W. at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues; for, as all ships from Valparaiso bound to the northward, steer that course, the commodore proposed, by this means, to stop any intelligence that might be dispatched to Callao, of two of their ships being amissing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The Tryal's prize was to continue on this station for twenty-four days, and, if not joined by the commodore before the expiration of that time, was then to proceed along the coast to Pisco, or Nasca, where she would be certain to find the Centurion. The commodore also ordered Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to assist in unloading the Tryal, and that, by spreading in their cruise off Valparaiso, there might be less danger of any ships of the enemy slipping past unobserved. These orders being dispatched, the Centurion

parted

parted from the other vessels at eleven at night of the 27th September, directing her course towards Valparaiso, with the view of cruising for some days to windward of that port.

By this distribution of our ships, we flattered ourselves that we had taken all the advantages we possibly could of the enemy with our small force, as our disposition was certainly the most prudent that could be devised: For, as we might suppose the Gloucester to be now drawing nigh the high-land of Payta, we were thus enabled, by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either between Peru and Chili to the southward, or between Panama and Peru to the northward, since the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on with the port of Valparaiso, the Centurion, cruising to windward of that port, would probably meet with them, as it is the constant practice of these ships to fall in with land to windward of that place. The Gloucester, also, would be in the way of all ships bound from Panama, or any other place to the northward, to any port in Peru, since the high-land, off which she was ordered to cruise, is constantly made by every ship on that voyage. While the Centurion and Gloucester were thus conveniently situated for intercepting the trade of the enemy, the Tryal's prize, and Centurion's prize, were as conveniently stationed for preventing the communication of intelligence, by intercepting all vessels bound from Valparaiso to the northward; as by such vessels it was to be feared that some account of us might be transmitted to Peru.

But the most judicious dispositions only produce a probability of success, and cannot command certainty; since those chances, which may reasonably enough be overlooked in deliberation, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus, in the present instance, the distress of the Tryal, and our necessary quitting our station to assist her, which were events that no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate, gave an opportunity to all the ships bound for Valparaiso to reach that port without molestation during this unlucky interval: so that, after leaving Captain Saunders, we used every expedition in regaining our station, which we reached on the 29th at noon; yet, in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to fall in with a sail of any sort. Having lost all hope of meeting with any better fortune by longer stay, we then made sail to leeward of the port, in order to rejoin our prizes; but when we arrived off the high-land, where they were directed

to

to cruise, we did not find them, though we continued there three or four days. It was supposed, therefore, that some chase had occasioned them to quit their station, wherefore we proceeded to the northward to the high-land of Nasca, in lat. 15° 20′ S. being the second rendezvous appointed for Captain Saunders to join us. We got there on the 21st of October, and were in great expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels, as both the accounts of former voyagers, and the information of our prisoners, assured us, that all ships bound to Callao consequently make this land to prevent the danger of falling to leeward of the port.

Notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail whatever till the 2d November, when two ships appeared together, to which we immediately gave chase, and soon perceived that they were the Tryal's and Centurion's prizes. As they were to windward, we brought to and waited their coming up; when Captain Saunders came on board the Centurion, and acquainted the commodore that he had cleared and scuttled the Tryal according to his orders, and remained by her till she sunk. It was, however, the 4th of October before this could be effected; for there ran so large and hollow a sea that the sloop, having neither masts nor sails to steady her, rolled and pitched so violently, that, for the greatest part of the time, it was impossible for a boat to lie alongside of her; and, during this attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to the N.W. that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward, in order to regain the ground they had lost, which was the reason we had not met them on their station. They had met with no better fortune on their cruise than ourselves, never having seen a single vessel since we left them.

This want of success, and our certainty if any ships had been stirring in these seas for some time past, that we must have fallen in with them, made us believe that the enemy at Valparaiso, on missing the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in these seas, and had consequently laid an embargo on all trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended they might, by this time, be fitting out the ships of war at Callao; as we knew that it was not uncommon for an express to reach Lima from Valparaiso in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken the first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo on the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao,

Callao, determined the commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, to join the Gloucester as soon as possible off Payta, that, our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view we bore away that same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence; for we knew that all the ships of that country were commanded, under the severest penalties, not to sail past the harbour of Callao without stopping: as this order is always complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies if we were seen to act contrary to that regulation. In this new navigation, being uncertain if we might not meet the Spanish squadron on the way, the commodore took back a part of the crew of the Centurion which had been for some time on board the Carmelo.

While standing to the northward, we had sight of the small island of St Gallan[1] before night, bearing from us N.N.E. ½ E. about seven leagues distant. This island lies in about the latitude of 14° S. and about five miles to the northward of a high-land called *Morro Viejo,* or the Old-man's Head, which island and high-land near it are here more particularly mentioned, because between them is perhaps the most eligible station on all this coast for cruising against the enemy, as hereabouts all ships bound for Callao, whether from the northward or southward, run well in with the land. By the 5th November, at 3 p. m. we were within sight of the high-land of *Barranca,* in lat. 10° 36′ S. bearing from us N.E. by E. eight or nine leagues distant; and an hour and a half afterwards we had the satisfaction, so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave chase; but the Centurion so much outsailed the two prizes that we soon ran them both out of sight, and gained considerably upon the chase. Night, however, came on before we could make up with her, and about seven o'clock the darkness concealed her from our view, and we were in some perplexity what course to steer; but our commodore resolved, being then before the wind, to keep all his sails set and not to change his course: For, although there was no doubt the chase would alter her course in the night, as it was quite

[1] This island of San Gallan is in lat. 14° S. long. 76° W. about twelve miles S.W. of Pisco.—E.

quite uncertain what tack she might go upon, he thought it more prudent to continue the same course, rather than change it on conjecture, as, should we mistake, she would certainly get away. Continuing the chase about an hour and a half after dark, one or other of our people constantly believing they saw her sails right a-head of us, our second lieutenant, Mr Brett, at length actually discovered her about four points on the larboard bow, steering off to seawards, on which we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, standing right towards her, and came up with her in less than an hour, and, having fired fourteen shots at her, she struck. Mr Dennis, our third lieutenant, was sent in the boat with sixteen men to take possession of the prize, and to shift the prisoners to our ship.

This vessel was named the *Santa Teresa de Jesus,* built at Guayaquil, of about 300 tons burden, commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayan. She was bound from Guayaquil to Callao, her loading consisting of timber, cocoa, cocoanuts, tobacco, hides, *Pito* thread, (which is made of a kind of grass and is very strong,) Quito cloth, wax, and various other articles; but the specie on board was very inconsiderable, being principally small silver coin, not exceeding 170*l.* sterling in value. Her cargo, indeed, was of great value, if we could have sold it; but the Spaniards have strict orders never to ransom their ships, so that all the goods we captured in the South Seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us; yet it was some satisfaction to consider, that it was so much real loss to the enemy, and that despoiling them was no contemptible part of the service in which we were employed, and was so far beneficial to our country. Besides her crew of forty-five hands, she had on board ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, but born of Spanish parents, together with three negro slaves who attended them. The women were a mother and two daughters, the elder about twenty-one, and the younger about fourteen. It is not to be wondered that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at falling into the hands of an enemy whom they had been taught to consider as the most lawless and brutal of all mankind, owing to the former excesses of the buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests. In the present instance these apprehensions were much augmented by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women,

and the riotous disposition they might naturally enough expect to find in a set of sailors who had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth.

Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves on the lieutenant coming on board, and, when found out, it was with difficulty he could persuade them to come to the light. But he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his assurances of their future safety and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. The commodore, also, being informed of their fears, sent directions that they should continue in their own ship, with the use of the same apartments and all other conveniences they had before enjoyed, giving strict orders that they should experience no inquietude or molestation; and, that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, of having the means of complaining if they were not, the commodore appointed the pilot, who is generally the second person in Spanish ships, to remain with them as their guardian and protector. He was particularly chosen on this occasion, as he seemed extremely interested in all that concerned these women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest; though it afterwards appeared that he had asserted this merely with the view of securing them from the insults they dreaded on falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the time they were with us.

I have before mentioned that the Centurion ran her two consorts out of sight at the commencement of this chase, on which account we lay to for them all the night after we had taken the prize, firing guns and shewing false fires every half hour, to prevent them from passing us unobserved. But they were so far astern, that they neither heard nor saw any of our signals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day. When they had joined, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea for many miles of a beautiful red colour, owing, as we found upon examination, to an immense quantity of spawn floating on its surface: For, taking some of the water in a glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to be perfectly clear, with some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. Having now a supply of timber in our new prize, the commodore ordered all our boats to be repaired, and a swivel-stock to be fitted in the bow of the barge and pinnace,

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in order to increase their force, in case we should have occasion to use them in boarding ships, or making any attempt on shore.

Continuing our course to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we spread our ships in such a manner that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy should escape us. During our voyage along this coast, we generally observed that a current set us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles every day. When in about the latitude of 8° S. we began to be attended by vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we had seen after leaving the coast of Brazil. It is remarkable that these fish extend to a much higher latitude on the east side of America than on the west, as we did not lose them on the coast of Brazil till near the southern tropic. The reason, doubtless, of this diversity, is owing to the different degrees of heat obtaining on different sides of the continent in the same latitude; and, on this occasion, I use the freedom to make a short digression on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the variations which occur in the same places at different times of the year, and in different places in the same degree of latitude.

The ancients conceived that of the five zones into which they divided the surface of the globe, two only were habitable; supposing that the heat between the tropics, and the cold within the polar circles, were too intense to be supported by mankind. The falsehood of this idea has been long established; but the particular comparison of the heat and cold of these various climates have as yet been very imperfectly considered. Enough is known, however, safely to determine this position, that all the places within the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe, as many within the polar circle are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold to which their situation seems to subject them; that is to say, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances, than upon its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial line.

This proposition relates to the general temperature of places taking the whole year round, and, in this sense, it cannot be denied that the city of London, for instance, enjoys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's Bay, which is nearly in the same latitude, but where the severity of the winter is so great as scarcely to permit the hardiest of

our

our garden plants to live. If the comparison be made between the coast of Brazil and the western shore of South America, as, for example, between Bahia and Lima, the difference will be found still more considerable; for, though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Sea, in the same latitude, is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since we, in ranging it along, did not once meet with such warm weather as is frequently felt in a summer day in England, which was still the more remarkable, as there never fell any rain to refresh and cool the air.

The causes of this lower temperature in the South Sea are not difficult to be assigned, and shall be mentioned hereafter. I am now only solicitous to establish the truth of this assertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule by which to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this position might be more briefly confirmed by observing that on the tops of the Andes, though under the equator, the snow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold stronger than is known to take place in many parts far within the polar circle.

Hitherto I have considered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the gross estimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own sensations. But if this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which are doubtless the most unerring evidences in respect to the absolute degrees of heat and cold, the result will be indeed most wonderful; since it will appear that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Petersburgh for instance, is, at particular times, much greater than any that has been hitherto observed between the tropics. Even at London in the year 1746, there was a part of one day considerably hotter than was at any time felt in one of the ships of our squadron in the whole voyage out and home, though four times passing under the equator; for, in the summer of that year, the thermometer in London, graduated according to the scale of Fahrenheit, stood at 78°, and the greatest observed heat, by a thermometer of the same kind in the same ship, was 76°, which was at St Catharines in the latter end of December, when the sun was within about 3° of the vertex. At St Petersburgh, I find by the acts of the Academy, in the year 1734, on the 20th and 25th of July, that the thermometer rose to 98° in the shade, or 22° higher than it was found to be at St Catharines;

rines; which extraordinary degree of heat, were it not authenticated by the regularity and circumspection with which the observations appear to have been conducted, would appear altogether incredible.

If it should be asked, how it comes then to pass, that the heat, in many places between the tropics, is esteemed so violent and insufferable, when it appears, by these instances, that it is sometimes rivalled, and even exceeded, in very high latitudes, not far from the polar circle? I shall answer, That the estimation of heat, in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that particular degree of it which may now and then obtain there; but is rather to be deduced from the medium observed during a whole season, or perhaps in a whole year; and in this light, it will easily appear how much more intense the same degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For instance, in comparing together St Catharines and St Petersburgh, we shall suppose the summer heat at St Catharines to be 76°, and the winter heat to be only 56°. I do not make this last supposition upon sufficient authority, but am apt to suspect the allowance is full large. Upon this supposition, therefore, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°; and this perhaps by night as well as by day, with no great variation. Now, those who have attended to thermometrical observation will readily allow, that a continuance of this degree of heat for a length of time, would be found violent and suffocating by the generality of mankind. But at Petersburgh, though the heat, as measured by the thermometer, may happen to be a few times in the year considerably higher than at St Catharines, yet, at other times, the cold is intensely sharper, and the medium for a year, or even for one season only, would be far short of 60°. For I find, that the variation of the thermometer at Petersburgh, is at least five times greater, from its highest to its lowest point, than I have supposed it to be at St Catherines.[2]

Besides this estimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a considerable time together, there is another

[2] On his own principles, the lowest heat of Petersburgh ought to be— 2°, and the medium temperature of the year 48°; but the data are loosely expressed and quite unsatisfactory, as indeed is the whole reasoning on the subject.—E.

ther circumstance which will still farther augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminish that of the colder, though I do not remember to have seen it remarked by any author. To explain myself more distinctly upon this head, I must observe, that the measure of absolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the sensation of heat with which human bodies are affected; for, as the presence and perpetual succession of fresh air is necessary to our respiration, so there is a species of tainted or stagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which, being less proper for respiration, never fails to excite in us an idea of sultriness and suffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone would occasion, supposing it pure and agitated. Hence it follows, that the mere inspection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cause; and hence also, the heat, in most places between the tropics, must be much more troublesome and uneasy, than the same degree of absolute heat in a high latitude. For the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of steams and vapours from the soil and water; and many of these being of an impure and noxious kind, and being not easily removed, by reason of the regularity of the winds in those parts, which only shift the exhalations from place to place, without dispersing them, the atmosphere is by this means rendered less capable of supporting the animal functions, and mankind are consequently affected by what they call a most intense and stifling heat. Whereas, in the higher latitudes, these vapours are probably raised in smaller quantities, and are frequently dispersed by the irregularity and violence of the winds; so that the air, being in general more pure and less stagnant, the same degree of absolute heat is not attended by that uneasy and suffocating sensation.

This may suffice, in general, with respect to the present speculation; but I cannot help wishing, as it is a subject in which mankind are very much interested, especially travellers of all sorts, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and that all ships bound to the warmer climates were furnished with thermometers of a known fabric, and would observe them daily, and register their observations. For, considering the turn to philosophical enquiries

quiries which has obtained in Europe since the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind has been attended to. For my own part, I do not remember to have ever seen any observations of the heat and cold, either in the East or West Indies, which were made by marines or officers of vessels, excepting those made by order of Commodore Anson on board the Centurion, and those by Captain Legg on board the Severn, another ship of our squadron.

I have been in some measure drawn into this digression, by the consideration of the fine weather we experienced on the coast of Peru, even under the equinoctial, but I have not yet described the particularities of this weather. I shall now therefore observe, that every circumstance concurred, in this climate, that could render the open air and the daylight desirable: For, in other countries, the scorching heat of the sun in summer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement, and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year: But, in this happy climate, the sun rarely appears. Not that the heavens have at any time a dark or gloomy aspect; for there is constantly a cheerful gray sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tinging the light of day with an unpleasant or melancholy hue. By this means, all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise in the open air; nor is there wanting that refreshing and pleasing refrigeration of the air which is sometimes produced by rains in other climates; for here the same effect is brought about by the fresh breezes from the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast mountains called the Andes, which, running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small distance from it, and extending immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the summit, all kinds of climates may be found at all seasons of the year.

These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds, which generally blow over the continent of South America, and by cooling that part of the air which forces

its way over their tops, and by keeping besides a large portion of the atmosphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the snows by which they are always covered, and thus spreading the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru, are doubtless the cause of the temperature and equability which constantly prevail there. For, when we had advanced beyond the equinoctial to the north, where these mountains left us, and had nothing to screen us to the eastward but the high lands on the Isthmus of Darien, which are mere mole-hills compared to the Andes, we then found that we had totally changed our climate in a short run; passing, in two or three days, from the temperate air of Peru, to the sultry and burning atmosphere of the West Indies.

To return to our narration. On the 10th of November we were three leagues south of the southern island of *Lobos*, in lat. 6° 27′ S. This is called *Lobos de la Mar;* and another, which is to the northward of it, and resembles it so much in shape and appearance as to be often mistaken for it, is called *Lobos de Tierra.*[3] We were now drawing near the station that had been appointed for the Gloucester, and fearing to miss her, we went under easy sail all night. At day-break next morning, we saw a ship in shore and to windward, which had passed us unseen in the night, and soon perceiving that she was not the Gloucester, we got our tacks on board and gave her chase. But as there was very little wind, so that neither we nor the chase had made much way, the commodore ordered his barge and pinnace, with the pinnace of the Tryal's prize, to be manned and armed, and to pursue and board the chase. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded our barge, came up with her first about nine o'clock, a. m. and, running alongside, fired a volley of small shot between her masts, just over the heads of her people, and then instantly boarded with the greatest part of his men. But the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently intimidated by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett now made the sails of the prize be trimmed, and bore down towards the commodore,

[3] The Southern Lobos, or Lobos de la Mar, is in fact two contiguous islands, N. and S. from each other, in lat. 6° 57′ S. and long. 80° 45′ W. *Lobos de Tierra*, called also *Inner Lobos*, from being nearer the land, lying in the same longitude, is in lat. 6° 23′ S. There is still a third, or Northern Lobos, in lat. 5° 10′ S. long. 81° W.

commodore, taking up the other two boats in his way. When within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous of communicating to the commodore as soon as possible. On his arrival, we learnt that the prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, of about 270 tons burden, commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, having on board forty-three mariners. She was deeply laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar plank, snuff, *rosarios*, European bale-goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, papal indulgences, and other kinds of merchandize; and, though this cargo was of little value to us, in our present circumstances, it was the most considerable capture we had made, in respect to the Spaniards, as it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars, prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound from Panama to Callao, and had stopped at Payta on her way, to take on board a recruit of water and provisions, and had not left that place above twenty-four hours when she fell into our hands.

The important intelligence received by Mr Brett, which he was so anxious to communicate to the commodore, he had learnt from one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found in the prize, and which was confirmed by examination of the other prisoners. Williams was a papist, who had worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over the whole of the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended that, by this business, he had at one time cleared four or five thousand dollars, but at length got entangled by the priests, who knew he had money, and was stripped of every thing. At present he was all in rags, having just got out of Payto gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanour. He expressed great joy in thus meeting his countrymen, and immediately informed them, that a vessel had come into Payta, only a few days before, the master of which had informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which he was persuaded, from her size and the colour of her sails, must be one of the English squadron. This we conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we found afterwards was the case. On examining the master, and being fully satisfied of his account, the governor sent off an express with all expedition to the viceroy at Lima; and the royal officer re-

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siding at Payta, apprehensive of a visit from the English, had been busily employed, from his first hearing of this news, in removing the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town in the interior, about fourteen leagues distant.[4] We learnt farther, from our prisoners, that there was at this time a considerable sum of money in the custom-house of Payta, belonging to some merchants of Lima, which was intended to be shipped on board a vessel, then in the harbour of Payta, and was preparing to sail for the bay of *Sansonnate*, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manilla ship.

As the vessel in which this money was to be shipped was reckoned a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, and might, in the opinion of the prisoners, be able to sail the succeeding morning, we had little reason to expect that our ship, which had been nearly two years in the water, could have any chance to get up with her, if she were once allowed to escape from the port. Wherefore, and as we were now discovered, and the whole coast would soon be alarmed, and as our continuing to cruise any longer in these parts would now answer no purpose, the commodore determined to endeavour to take Payta by surprise, having in the first place informed himself minutely of its strength and condition, by examining the prisoners, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt.

This attack on Payta, besides the treasure it promised, and its being the only enterprize in our power to undertake, had also several other probable advantages. We might, in all probability, supply ourselves with great quantities of live provisions, of which we were in great want; and we should also have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our remaining stock was capable of furnishing much longer. In all these lights, the attempt was most eligible, and to which our situation, our necessities, and every prudential consideration, strongly prompted. How it succeeded, and how far it answered our expectations, shall be the subject of the succeeding section.

SECTION

[4] San Migual de Piura is about 30 English miles E. by S. from Payta, and nearly the same distance from the mouth of the Piura river.—E.

SECTION XVI.

Capture of Payta, and Proceedings at that Place.

THE town of Payta is in lat. 50° 12′ S. [long. 81° 15′ W.] being situated in a most barren soil, composed only of sand and slate. It is of small extent, being about 275 yards in length along the shore of the bay, and 130 yards in breadth, containing less than two hundred families. The houses are only ground floors, their walls composed of split canes and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. Though thus extremely slight, these edifices are abundantly sufficient for a climate where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years: Insomuch that, a small quantity of rain falling in the year 1728, is said to have ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and melted as it were before it. The inhabitants are chiefly Indians and black slaves, or of mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Payta, though little more than a bay, is reckoned the best on this coast, and is indeed a very secure and commodious anchorage, and is frequented by all vessels coming from the north, as here only the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonnate, Realejo, and Panama, can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao; and the length of these voyages, the wind for the greatest part of the year being full against them, renders it indispensably necessary for them to call in here for a recruit of fresh water. Payta itself, however, is situated in so parched a spot, that it does not furnish a drop of fresh water, neither any kind of vegetables or other provisions, except fish and a few goats. But, from an Indian town named Colan, two or three leagues to the northward, water, maize, vegetables, fowls, and other provisions, are conveyed to Payta on *balsas* or floats, for the supply of ships which touch there; and cattle are sometimes brought from Piura, a town about thirty miles up the country. The water brought from Colan is whitish and of a disagreeable appearance, but is said to be very wholesome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants that it runs through large tracks overgrown with sarsaparilla, with which it is sensibly impregnated. Besides furnishing the trading ships bound from the north for Callao with water and other necessary

cessary refreshments, this port of Payta is the usual place where passengers from Acapulco and Panama, bound to Lima, disembark; as the voyage from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, is two hundred leagues, and is extremely tedious and fatiguing, owing to the wind being almost always contrary; whereas there is a tolerably good road by land, running nearly parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

Payta is merely an open town, unprovided with any defence, except a small fort or redoubt near the shore of the bay. It was of much consequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and strength of this fort; which, we learnt from our prisoners, had eight pieces of cannon, but neither ditch nor outwork, being merely surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of one weak company, though the town might possibly be able to arm three hundred men. Having informed himself of the strength of the place, the commodore determined upon making an attempt for its capture that very night, the 12th November. We were then about twelve leagues from shore; a sufficient distance to prevent being discovered, yet not so far but that, by making all the sail we could carry, we might arrive in the bay long before day-break. The commodore considered, however, that this would be an improper manner of proceeding, as our ships, being large bodies, might easily be seen at a distance, even in the night, and might alarm the inhabitants, so as to give them an opportunity of removing their most valuable effects. He resolved therefore, as the strength of the place did not require the employment of our whole force, to make the attempt with the boats only, ordering our eighteen-oared barge, with our own and the Tryal's pinnaces, on this service. Fifty-eight men, well furnished with arms and ammunition, were picked out to man them, and the command of the expedition was entrusted to Lieutenant Brett, to whom the commodore gave the necessary orders and instructions.

The better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise in the darkness of the night, and from the ignorance of our people of the streets and passages of the place, two of the Spanish pilots were appointed to attend Mr Brett, to conduct him to the most convenient landing-place, and afterwards to be his guides on shore. Likewise, that we might have the greater security for their fidelity on this occasion

casion, the commodore publicly assured all our prisoners, that they should be set on shore and released at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully: But, in case of any misconduct or treachery, the pilots were threatened with being instantly shot, and all the rest were assured of being carried prisoners to England. Thus the prisoners were themselves interested in our success, and we had no reason to suspect our guides of negligence or perfidy. It is worthy of remark, on this occasion, as a singular circumstance, that one of these pilots, as we afterwards learnt, had been taken by Captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had then been obliged to guide Captain Clipperton and his people to the surprizal of Truxillo, a town to the southward of Payta; where, however, he contrived to alarm and save his countrymen, though the place was carried and pillaged. It is certainly an extraordinary incident, that the only two attempts on shore, and at so long an interval, should have been guided by the same person, a prisoner both times, and forced upon the service contrary to his inclination.

During our preparation, the ships continued to stand for the port with all the sail they could carry, secure that we were still at too great a distance to be seen. About ten at night, being then within five leagues of Payta, Lieutenant Brett put off with the boats under his command, and arrived at the mouth of the bay undiscovered. He had no sooner entered the bay, than some of the people in a ship riding there at anchor perceived him, and getting instantly into their boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, *The English! the English dogs!* By this the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other indications of the inhabitants being all in motion. On this, Mr Brett encouraged his men to pull briskly, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for defence. Yet, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got some of their cannons ready, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though, in the darkness of the night, chance may be supposed to have had a greater share in their direction than skill, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of our boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts, so that they had reached the shore, and were in part landed, by the time the second shot was fired.

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As soon as our men were landed, they were conducted by one of the pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being here formed as well as the shortness of the time would allow, they marched immediately for the parade, a large square at the other end of this street, on one side of which stood the fort, while the governor's house formed another side of the same square. In this march, though performed with tolerable regularity, the shouts and clamours of nearly threescore sailors, who had been so long confined on ship board, and who were now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as seamen always are when they land, and animated on the present occasion with the hopes of immense pillage, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the astonished enemy, to at least three hundred; by which estimation, the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were infinitely more solicitous about the means of flight than of resistance. Hence, though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants to whom the treasure then in the town belonged, who were ranged in a gallery that went round the governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned on the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

Mr Brett now divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and if possible to secure the governor, while he went himself at the head of the other party, with the intention of forcing possession of the fort. But the enemy abandoned it on his approach, making their escape over the walls, and he entered it without opposition. Thus the place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour after landing, and with no other loss on our side than one man killed and two wounded. One of these was the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, who received a slight bruise by a ball, which grazed his wrist. The honourable Mr Keppell, son to the Earl of Albemarle, had on this occasion a narrow escape. He wore a jockey-cap, one side of the peak of which was shaved off by a ball, close to his temple, yet did him no other injury.

Having thus far happily succeeded, Mr Brett placed a guard at the fort, and another in the governor's house, and fixed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent

vent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. His next care was to seize upon the custom-house, in which the treasure was lodged, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions were necessary. He soon found that the numbers remaining were no ways formidable; for by far the greatest part of them, being in bed when the place was surprised, had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not taken time to put on their clothes. The governor was not the last to secure himself in this general rout; for he fled betimes half-naked, leaving his wife behind, a young lady of about seventeen, to whom he had only been married three or four days; yet she also was carried off half-naked, by a couple of centinels, just as our detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived for that purpose. This escape of the governor was an unpleasant circumstance, as the commodore had particularly recommended to Mr Brett to secure him if possible, as by that means he might have treated for the ransom of the place; but his alacrity in flight rendered this impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes, who were employed the remaining part of the night in carrying the treasure, from the custom-house and other places, to the fort, each party of them being attended by a file of musketeers. This transportation of the treasure was the chief employment of Mr Brett's people after getting possession of the place; yet the sailors, while thus busied, could not be prevented from entering the houses in their way, in search of private pillage; when the first things that occurred to them, were the clothes left by the Spaniards, and which were mostly embroidered or laced, according to the fashion of the country. Our people eagerly seized these glittering dresses, and put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets, not forgetting the tye or bag-wigs, and laced hats, which were generally found along with the clothes. When this had once begun, there was no possibility of preventing the whole detachment from imitating the example; but those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip them, were forced to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which, provided these were fine enough, they made no scruple of putting on and blending with their own greasy dress: So that, when a party of them first made they appearance

appearance in that guise before Mr Brett, he was extremely surprised at their grotesque exhibition, and could hardly believe they were his own men.

While these transactions were going on at Payta, we lay-to till one in the morning, from the time when our boats pushed off; and then, supposing the detachment to be near landing, we went on under easy sail for the bay. This we began to open about seven a. m. of the 13th, and soon after had a view of the town. Though we had no reason to doubt the success of the enterprise, yet we saw with much joy an infallible sign of its being effected, as, by means of our telescope, we could see the English flag hoisted on the flagstaff of the fort. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew from the shore, would allow; and at eleven a. m. the Tryal's pinnace came on board us, laden with dollars and church plate, when the officer who commanded her gave an account of the transactions of the preceding night. About two p. m. we anchored in ten and a half fathoms, about a mile and half from the town, and were consequently near enough to have direct intercourse with the shore.

Mr Brett had hitherto gone on, collecting and removing the treasure, without interruption; but the enemy had now rendezvoused from all parts of the country, on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance; as, among the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse, seemingly well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, as they were furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with much ostentation, sounding their military music; and, as our small force on shore was by this time known to them, practising every art to intimidate us, in hopes we might be induced, by our fears of them, to abandon the place before completing its pillage. We were not, however, so ignorant as to believe that this body of horse, which seemed to be what they chiefly depended on, would dare to venture themselves among the streets and houses, even had they been three times more numerous; and we went on calmly, as long as day-light lasted, in sending off the treasure, and carrying on board refreshments, such as hogs, poultry, and the like, which we found in great abundance. At night, to prevent surprise, the commodore sent a reinforcement on shore, who were posted in all the avenues

avenues leading to the parade; and, for farther security, all the streets were traversed with barricades six feet high. But the enemy continued quiet all night, and at day-break we resumed our labour, in loading and sending off the boats.

We were now thoroughly convinced of what consequence it would have been, had fortune seconded the prudent views of the commodore, by enabling us to have secured the governor. For we found many warehouses full of valuable effects, which were quite useless to us in our present circumstances, as we could not find room for them on board. But, had the governor been in our power, he would have treated, in all probability, for the ransom of this merchandize, which would have been extremely advantageous, both for him and us. Whereas, he being at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues around, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, he was so elated by his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he did not seem to care about the fate of his government. Insomuch that, although our commodore sent several messages to him, by some of the inhabitants who were made prisoners, offering to enter into treaty for the ransom of the town and goods, even giving an intimation that we should be far from insisting on a rigorous equivalent, and might perhaps be satisfied with some live cattle and other necessaries for the use of the squadron, yet the governor despised all these reiterated overtures, and did not deign to give the slightest answer, though repeatedly threatened, if he would not condescend to treat, that we would set the town and all the warehouses on fire.

On the second day of our possessing the place, several negro slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and voluntarily entered into our service, one of them being well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered to have seen him formerly at Panama. We now learnt that the Spaniards, without the town, were in extreme distress for water; for many of their slaves crept into town by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill; and, though some of these were seized in the attempt, yet their thirst was so pressing, that they continued the practice as long as we remained in possession of the place. In the course of this second day, we were assured, both by deserters and prisoners, that the Spaniards were now increased to a formidable number, and had resolved to storm the town and fort

next

next night, under the command of one Gordon, a Scots papist, and captain of a ship in these seas. We continued, however, to prosecute our work, without hurry, loading and sending off the boats as long as we had light; and at night, a reinforcement was again sent on shore by the commodore, and Mr Brett doubled his guards at all the barricades, all his posts being connected, by means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole visited by frequent rounds, attended by a drum. These marks of our vigilance and readiness to receive the enemy, which they could not be ignorant of, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed this second night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the evening before, so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects from the town. As the commodore proposed to sail in the afternoon, he this day about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners on shore, to the number of eighty-eight, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to have them secured in one of the churches under a strict guard, till he and his men were ready to embark. Mr Brett was also ordered to set the whole town on fire, except the two churches, which fortunately stood at some distance from the houses, after which he was to abandon the place and return on board. Mr Brett punctually complied with these orders, and immediately distributed pitch, tar, and other combustibles, of which there was great abundance to be had, into various houses in the several streets of the town, so that as the place was to be fired in many different quarters at the same time, the destruction might be the more violent and sudden, and the enemy might not be able to extinguish it after his departure. All these preparations being made, Mr Brett made the cannon in the fort be spiked; and setting fire to the houses most to windward, he collected his men and marched them to the beach, where the boats waited to take them off.

As that part of the beach where he intended to embark was an open place without the town, near the churches, his retreat was perceived by the Spaniards on the hill, on which they resolved to endeavour to precipitate his departure, in order to have a pretext for future boasting. For this purpose, a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty,

sixty, selected probably for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution, as if they had proposed to have charged our men now on the open beach without any advantage of situation. But no sooner did Mr Brett halt his men and face about, than they stopped their career, and did not venture to advance any farther. On arriving at the boats, and being quite ready to embark, our people were detained some time by missing one of their number; and, after some considerable delay, being unable to learn where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they resolved to depart without him. Just when the last man was embarked, and the boats were going to shove off, they heard him calling to be taken in; at which time the town was so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke so covered the beach, that they could hardly discern him, though he was quite well heard. Mr Brett, however, instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, which found him up to the chin in the water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely terrified at the idea of falling into the hands of the enemy, enraged as they doubtless were at the pillage and destruction of their town. On enquiring into the cause of his staying behind the rest, he acknowledged having taken too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so profound a sleep that he did not wake till the fire began to scorch him. At first opening his eyes, he was amazed to see all the houses in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The great and sudden terror instantly restored him to sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the most likely means of escaping from the enemy; and, making the best of his way to the beach, he ran into the water as far as he durst, for he could not swim, before he ventured to look back.

It was certainly much to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and spirits found in the town, yet this was the only one who was known to have so far neglected his duty as to get drunk: indeed, their whole behaviour, while on shore, was greatly more regular than could well have been expected, from sailors who had been so long confined on board ship; and, though much of this good conduct must doubtless be imputed to the diligence of the officers, and to the excellent discipline they had been constantly inured to under the commodore, it was certainly not a little to the reputation of the men, that they should so

generally

generally have refrained from indulging in these intoxicating liquors, which they found in abundance in every warehouse.

There was another singular incident occurred here which merits being recorded. An Englishman, who had formerly wrought as a ship-carpenter in Portsmouth yard, had left his country and entered into the Spanish service, and was at this time employed by them at the port of Guayaquil; and, as it was well known to his friends in England that he was in that part of the world, they had put letters for him on board the Centurion. This man happened at the present time to be among the Spaniards who had retired to the hill of Payta; and ambitious, as it would seem, of acquiring reputation among his new masters, he came down unarmed to one of our centinels, who was posted at some distance from the fort towards the enemy, pretending that he was desirous of surrendering himself, and returning to the service of his country. Our centinel had a cocked pistol in his hand, but, deceived by the fair speeches of the carpenter, he allowed him very imprudently to come much too near him, so that, watching his opportunity, the carpenter wrenched the pistol from his hand, and ran away with it up the hill. By this time two others of our men, who had seen the carpenter advance, and suspected his intentions, were making towards him, and now pursued him, but he got up the hill before they could reach him, and then turned round and fired the pistol. His pursuers immediately returned the fire, though at a great distance, and the crest of the hill covered him as soon as they had fired, so that they took it for granted they had missed him: yet we afterwards learnt that he was shot through the body, and had fallen dead the very next step he took after firing his pistol and getting out of sight. The centinel, too, whom he had so grossly imposed upon, did not escape unpunished; as he was ordered to be severely whipt, for allowing himself to be so shamefully surprised on his post, and giving an example of carelessness, which, if followed in other instances, might have proved fatal to us all.

By the time our people had taken their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way to the squadron, the flames had got possession of every part of the town with so powerful a hold, by means of the combustibles laid for the purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of the houses, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was now quite apparent no efforts of the enemy, who now flocked down in great numbers,

bers, could possibly stop its ravages, or prevent the entire destruction of the place and all the merchandize it contained. Our detachment under Lieutenant Brett safely joined the squadron, and the commodore prepared to leave the bay that same evening. On our first arrival there were six vessels belonging to the enemy at anchor, one of which was the ship that was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico; and, as she was supposed to be a good sailer, the commodore resolved to take her along with us. The others were two snows, a bark, and two row gallies of thirty-six oars each. These last, as we afterwards learnt, with many others of the same kind built at different ports, were intended to prevent us from landing in the neighbourhood of Callao; as the Spaniards, on the first intelligence of our squadron being destined for the South seas, and learning its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. Having no occasion for these five vessels, the commodore ordered all their masts to be cut by the board at our first arrival; and on leaving the place, they were all towed out into deep water, scuttled, and sunk. The command of the remaining ship, called the Solidad, was given to Mr Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, with a crew of ten men. Towards midnight the squadron weighed anchor and sailed out of the bay, now consisting of six ships, the Centurion, Tryal's prize, Carmelo, Teresa, Carmin, and Solidad.

Before proceeding to narrate our subsequent transactions, it may be proper to give a succinct account of the booty we acquired at Payta, and the losses there sustained by the Spaniards. It has been already observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects at this place, but most of them were of a nature that we could neither dispose of nor carry away, and their value, therefore, can only be guessed at. In their representations to the court of Madrid, as we were afterward assured, the Spaniards estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars; and as no small portion of the goods we there burnt were of the richest and most expensive kinds, as broad cloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, and the like, perhaps that valuation might be sufficiently moderate. The acquisition we made, though inconsiderable in comparison to what we destroyed, was yet far from despicable, as, in wrought plate, dollars, and other coin, there was to the value of more than 30,000*l.* sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and other jewels, the value of which could not then be

ascertained;

ascertained; and besides the very great plunder which became the property of the immediate captors.

It has been already observed, that all the prisoners we had taken in our preceding prizes were here discharged. Among these were some persons of considerable distinction, one of them a youth of seventeen, son to the vice-president of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uses the Spanish ecclesiastics had made of that circumstance, had filled the natives of these countries with the most horrible notions of the English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, on first coming aboard, extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. This youth particularly, having never been before from home, lamented his captivity in the most moving terms, regretting the loss of his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country; all of which he believed he should never see more, conceiving that he was devoted for the remainder of his life to an abject and cruel servitude. Indeed, all the Spaniards who came into our power, seemed to entertain similarly desponding notions of their condition. The commodore constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface these terrifying impressions, always having as many of the principal people among them as there was room for to dine at his table; and giving strict charges that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated with the utmost decency and humanity. In spite of this precaution, they hardly ever parted with their fears for the first few days, suspecting the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some after calamity; but at length, convinced of our sincerity, they grew perfectly easy and cheerful, so that it was often doubtful whether they considered their captivity as a misfortune. The before-mentioned youth, who was near two months on board the Centurion, had at last so completely conquered his original melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection for the commodore, and seemed so much pleased with the manner of life on board, so different from all he had ever seen before, that I much question, if it had been in his choice, if he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion to going on shore at Payta, though he had here liberty of returning to his friends and country.

This generous conduct of our commodore to his prisoners, which he continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence; and, as mankind are ever fond of forming general opinions, induced

induced them to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But, whatever opinion they might be disposed to form of his character before the capture of the Teresa, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards the women who were taken in that vessel, as formerly mentioned. For the circumstance of leaving them in possession of their own apartments, the strict orders he issued to prevent any of our people from approaching them, and his permitting the pilot to remain with them as their guardian, were measures that seemed so different from what they expected in an enemy and a heretic, that, although the Spanish prisoners had themselves experienced his beneficence, they were astonished at this particular instance; and the more so, that all this was done without his ever having seen the women, though the two daughters were both reckoned handsome, and the youngest was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women were themselves so sensible of the obligations they owed him for the attention and delicacy with which he had protected them, that they refused to go on shore at Payta till permitted to wait upon him, that they might in person return him thanks. Indeed all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon kindness. A Jesuit, in particular, of some distinction, expressed himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had experienced while on board, declaring that he should consider it his duty to do Mr Anson justice at all times; adding, that his usage of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgotten, and merited the highest acknowledgments; but his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary and honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be scarcely sufficient to make it believed. Indeed, we were afterwards informed that he and the rest of the prisoners had not been silent on this topic, but had given the highest commendations of our commodore, both at Lima and other places; and the Jesuit, as we were told, had interpreted in his favour, in a lax and hypothetical sense, that article of his church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

Let it not be imagined, that the impression received by the Spaniards to our advantage on the present occasion was a matter of slight import; for, not to mention several of our countrymen who had already felt the good effects of these

 prepossessions,

prepossessions, it may be observed, that the good opinion of this nation is certainly of more consequence to us than that of all the world besides. Not only as the commerce we have formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is so extremely valuable, but also as its transacting so immediately depends upon the honour and good faith of those who are entrusted with its management. Even if no national conveniences were likely to flow from this honourable conduct of our commodore, his own equity and good dispositions would not the less have prevented him from the exercise of tyranny and oppression on those whom the chance of war had put into his hands. I shall only add, that, by his constant practice of this humane and prudent conduct, he acquired a distinguished character among the Spanish Creoles over all their settlements in America, so that his name was universally mentioned with honour and applause by most of the Spanish inhabitants of that vast empire.

Section XVII.

Occurrences from our Departure from Payta to our Arrival at Quibo.

Setting sail from the road of Payta about midnight of the 16th November, we stood to the westward, and next morning the commodore caused the squadron to spread, on purpose to look out for the Gloucester, as we drew near the station where Captain Mitchell had been directed to cruise, and we hourly expected to get sight of him, yet the whole day passed without seeing him.

At this time a jealousy between those who had gone ashore to the attack of Payta, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the commodore became acquainted with it, and thought it necessary to interpose his authority for its abatement. This was occasioned by the plunder taken at Payta, which those who acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, considering it as due to the risks they had run, and the resolution they had shewn on that service. But those who had remained on board, deemed this a very partial and unjust procedure; urging, that they also would have preferred acting on shore if it had been left to their choice; that their duty on board was extremely fatiguing

guing while their comrades were on shore; for, besides the labour of the day, they were forced to remain all night under arms to secure the prisoners, who were more numerous than themselves, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have planned at that critical conjuncture. They insisted, also, that it was undeniably as necessary to the success of the enterprize to have an adequate force on board as on shore in its execution, and, therefore, that those who remained on board could not be deprived of their share in the plunder, without manifest injustice. These contests were carried on with great heat on both sides; and though the plunder in question was a mere trifle, in comparison with the treasure taken, in which there was no doubt that those on board had an equal right, yet, as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the commodore thought it necessary to put a speedy stop to this commotion.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 17th, he ordered all hands to assemble on the quarter-deck, when, addressing his discourse to those who had been detached on shore, he highly commended their gallant conduct, and thanked them for their services on that occasion. He then represented to them the reasons that had been urged by those who continued on board, for an equal distribution of the plunder, telling them that he thought these reasons were conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were justly founded; and he insisted, therefore, that not only the men, but all the officers also, who had been employed in the capture of Payta, should immediately produce the whole of their plunder upon the quarter-deck, and that it should be impartially divided among the whole crew, proportionally to the rank and commission of each. To prevent those who had been in possession of this plunder from murmuring at this decision, and the consequent diminution of their shares, he added, as an encouragement to those who might be afterwards employed on like services, that he gave up his entire share, to be distributed exclusively among those who had been detached to attack the place. Thus this troublesome affair, which might perhaps have had mischievous consequences if permitted to go on, was soon appeased by the prudence of the commodore, to the general satisfaction of all. Some few, indeed, whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning the equity of the decision,

decision, were dissatisfied, as it tended to deprive them of what they had once possessed.

This important affair employed the best part of the day after leaving Payta; and at night, having seen nothing of the Gloucester, the commodore made the squadron bring to, that we might not pass her in the dark. Next morning we again spread on the look-out, and saw a sail at 10 a. m. to which we gave chase, and which we came near enough by two p. m. to observe to be the Gloucester, having a small vessel in tow. We joined her in about an hour after, when we learnt that Captain Mitchell had only taken two small prizes during the whole of his cruise. One was a small snow, the cargo of which consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000*l.* in specie. The other was a large boat or launch, taken near shore by the Gloucester's barge. The prisoners on board this boat alleged that they were very poor, and that their loading consisted only of cotton; though the circumstances under which they were surprized, seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended; for they were found at dinner on a pigeon-pye, served up in silver dishes. The officer who commanded the barge, having opened several of the jars in the prize, to satisfy his curiosity, found nothing as he thought but cotton, which inclined him to believe the account given by the prisoners; but when these jars were examined more strictly in the Gloucester, they were agreeably surprised to find the whole a very extraordinary piece of deception; as in every jar there was a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, artfully concealed among the cotton, to the amount in all of near 12,000*l.* This treasure was going to Payta, and belonged to the same merchants who were proprietors of most of the money we had taken there; so that, if this boat had escaped the Gloucester, her cargo would probably have fallen into our hands. Besides these two prizes, the Gloucester had been in sight of two or three other ships, which had escaped them; and one of them, from some of our intelligence, we had reason to believe was of immense value.

It was now resolved to stand to the northwards, and to make the best of our way either for Cape St Lucas, in California, or Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico. When at Juan Fernandez, the commodore had resolved to touch somewhere in the neighbourhood of Panama, to endeavour

to

to get some correspondence overland with the fleet under Admiral Vernon. For, on our departure from England, we left a fleet at Portsmouth intended for the West Indies, to be employed there in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements. Taking for granted, therefore, that this enterprise had succeeded, and that Portobello might then be garrisoned by British troops, the commodore conceived he might easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen, on the other side of the isthmus of Darien, either by means of the Indians, who are greatly disposed to favour us, or even by the Spaniards themselves; some of whom might be induced, by proper rewards, to carry on this correspondence; which, when once begun, might be continued with little difficulty. By this means, Mr Anson flattered himself that he might procure a reinforcement of men from the other side, and that, by settling a prudent plan of co-operation with our commanders in the West Indies, he might even have taken Panama. This would have given the British nation the command of the isthmus, by which we should in effect have become masters of all the wealth of Peru, and should have held an equivalent in our hands for any demand, however extraordinary, that might have been thought advisable to make on either branch of the Bourbon family.

Such were the magnificent projects which the commodore revolved in his mind, when at the island of Juan Fernandez, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which his force was then reduced; and, had the success of the expedition to the West Indies been answerable to the general expectation, these views had certainly been the most prudent that could have been devised. But, on examining the papers found on board the Carmelo, our first prize, it was then learnt, though I deferred mentioning it till now, that the attempt on Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability of our fleet in the West Indies engaging in any new enterprise that could at all facilitate this plan. Mr Anson, therefore, had relinquished all hope of being reinforced across the isthmus, and consequently had no inducement to proceed at present for Panama, being incapable of assaulting that place; and there was reason to believe there was now a general embargo over all the coast of the South Sea. The only feasible measure that now remained, was to steer as soon as possible for the southern parts of California, or the adjacent coast of Mexico, and there to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which

was

was now known to be at sea on her voyage to Acapulco; and we had no doubt of being able to get upon that station in sufficient time to intercept her, as she does not usually arrive at Acapulco till towards the middle of January, and, being now only about the middle of November, we did not suppose our passage thither would cost us above a month or six weeks, so that, in our opinion, we had nearly twice as much time as was necessary.

There was one business, however, which we knew must occasion some delay, but which we hoped might be accomplished in four or five days. This was to recruit our water; for the number of prisoners we had to maintain, ever since we left Juan Fernandez, had so far exhausted our stock, that it was impossible to think of venturing upon a passage to the coast of Mexico, till we had procured a fresh supply; especially as we had not found enough at Payta for our consumption while there. It was for some time a matter of deliberation with the commodore, where we might take in this necessary article; but, by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our prisoners, he at last resolved for the island of Quibo, beyond the bay of Panama. There was indeed a small island called *Cocos*, less out of our way than Quibo, where some of the Buccaneers pretended to have found water: But none of our prisoners knew any thing of that island, and it was thought too hazardous to risk the safety of the squadron, by exposing ourselves to the chance of not finding water at that place, on the mere authority of these legendary writers, of whose misrepresentations and falsities we had almost daily experience. Besides, we were not without hopes that in going to Quibo some of the enemies ships bound to or from Panama might fall into our hands, particularly such of them as were put to sea, before they had intelligence of our squadron; we therefore directed our course to the northward, being eight sail, and so having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th at day-break, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing S.S.E. ½ E. seven miles distant. This cape lies in the latitude of 4° 15′ south, and is always made by ships bound either to windward or to leeward, so that it is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. As our last prize, the Solidad, was far from answering the character given her of a good sailer, and she and the Santa Teresa delayed us considerably, the commodore ordered them to be cleared of every thing that might prove useful

to

to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt. We then proceeded in our course for Quibo, and, on the 22d in the morning, saw the island of Plata bearing east, distant four leagues. One of our prizes, which was ordered to stand close in, both to discover if there were any ships between that island and the continent, and likewise to look out for a stream of fresh water reported to be there, returned without having seen any ship, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon point Manta bore S.E. by E. seven miles distant; and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell took this opportunity of sending away several of his prisoners from the Gloucester in the Spanish launch. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the Tryal and other prizes, to complete their stock for six months; and, that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship (one of which we were told was of immense size) a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and fore-tops for the mounting of swivel guns.

On the 25th we had a sight of the island of Gallo, bearing E.S.E. ½ E. four leagues distant; from hence we crossed the bay of Panama with a N.W. course, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the island of Quibo. But we afterwards found that we ought to have stood more to the westward, for the winds in a short time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult for us to gain the island. And now, after passing the equinoctial on the 22d, leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and standing more and more towards the isthmus, where the communication of the atmosphere to the eastward and the westward was no longer interrupted, we found, in a few days, an extraordinary alteration in the climate. Instead of uniform temperature, we had, for several days together, close and sultry weather, resembling what we had met with between the tropics on the eastern side of America. We had besides frequent calms and heavy rains, which we at first ascribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is found to prevail; but, observing that it attended us to the latitude of seven degrees north, we were induced to believe that the stormy season, or, as the Spaniards call it, the Vandevals, was not yet over; though many positively assert, that it begins in June, and is ended in November.

On the 27th Captain Mitchel's largest prize being cleared, was

was scuttled and set on fire, and as the remaining five ships were all good sailers, so we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long disused to, we found it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of December we had a view of the island of Quibo, the east end then bearing N.N.W. four leagues distant, and the island of Quicara W.N.W. at about the same distance. Here we struck ground with sixty-five fathom of line, and found the bottom to consist of grey sand, with black specks. When we got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly, and therefore thought it adviseable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning, point Mariato bore N.E. ½ N. three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point, all the squadron, except the Centurion, were very near it, and the Gloucester, being the leewardmost ship, was forced to tack and stand to the southward, so that we lost sight of her. At nine, the island Sebaco bore N.W. by N. four leagues distant; but the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken a-back. However, at eleven the next morning the wind happily settling in the S.S.W. we bore away for the S.S.E. end of the island, and about three in the afternoon entered Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. This Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, is at least six miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half distance of the breakers, though, in all probability, if it had been necessary, we might have ventured much nearer without incurring the least danger. At seven in the evening we came to an anchor in thirty-three fathom, muddy ground; the south point of the island bearing S.E. by E. a remarkable high part of the island W. by N. and the island Sebaco E. by N.

SECTION

SECTION XVIII.

Our Proceedings at Quibo, with an Account of the Place.

THE morning after our coming to an anchor, an officer was dispatched to discover the watering-place, and, having found it, returned before noon; then we sent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the same time weighed and stood farther in with our ships. At two we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken shells, the watering-place now bearing from us N.W. ½ N. only three quarters of a mile distant.

The island of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering, for the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea; so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole island is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It consists of a continued wood spread over the whole surface of the country, which preserves its verdure all the year round. We found there abundance of cassia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared singular to us, that, considering the climate and the shelter, we should see no other birds there than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; of the last there were prodigious flights. Next to these birds, the animals we found in most plenty were monkeys and guanos, and these we frequently killed for food; for though there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them, so that though we saw them often, we killed only two during our stay. Our prisoners assured us that this island abounded with tygers; we did once discover the print of a tyger's paw upon the beach, but the tygers themselves we never saw. The Spaniards, too, informed us that there was often found in the woods a most mischievous serpent, called the Flying Snake, which they said darted itself from the boughs of trees on either man or beast that came within its reach, and whose sting they believed to be inevitable death. Besides these mischievous land-animals, the sea hereabouts is infested with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary size; and we often observed a large kind of flat fish jumping a considerable

 height

height out of the water, which we supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl-divers, by clasping them in its fins as they rise from the bottom; and we were told that the divers, for their security, are now always armed with a sharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they stick into the belly of the fish, and thereby disengage themselves from its embraces.

Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. In the places where they put on shore in the course of his expedition, they generally found the soil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N.E. point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind, which human art or industry hath hitherto produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which ran down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty yards in length. The channel it ran in was very irregular; for it was entirely formed of rock, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted: For in some places it ran sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in other parts it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular descent. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood; and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the commodore, and those with him, were attentively viewing this place, and remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight (as it were with an intent still to heighten and animate the prospect) a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a most brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the sun on their variegated plumage; so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary scene.

In this expedition, along the eastern side of the island, though they met with no inhabitants, yet they saw many

huts

huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells of fine mother-of-pearl scattered up and down in different places: These were the remains left by the pearl-fishers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the pearl oysters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of Panama, are so plenty at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the sea, you might stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large, but extremely tough and unpalatable.

The oysters most productive of pearls, are those found in considerable depths; for, though what are taken up by wading are of the same species, yet the pearls found in them are rare and very small. It is said, too, that the pearl partakes in some degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyster is found; so that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill-coloured.

The diving for oysters is a work performed by negro slaves, of whom the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coast formerly kept great numbers, carefully trained to this business. These are not esteemed complete divers, till they are able to protract their stay under water so long, that the blood gushes out from their nose, mouth, and ears. It is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; that no inconvenience attends it, the bleeding generally stopping of itself, and that there is no probability of their being subject to it a second time.[1]

The sea at this place furnished us with a dainty, in the greatest plenty and perfection, viz. the turtle. There are reckoned four species of turtle: the trunk-turtle, the logger-head,

[1] The intelligent reader will demand more than the *tradition of the country* to induce his belief, that this diving business is not most certainly destructive of the miserable wretches who are compelled to pursue it. The divers in the Persian gulph, where it is well known the pearl fishery is carried on by individuals on their own account, "seldom live to a great age," (says Mr Morier in the account of his Journey through Persia.) "Their bodies break out in sores, and their eyes become very weak and blood-shot. They are restricted to a certain regimen; and to food composed of dates and other light ingredients." It cannot be imagined that the negroes of Panama fare better in this hazardous occupation. But to the expression of any solicitude as to *their* blood, it is very probable the answer might be something in the style of one of Juvenal's worthy ladies:

——— ita servus homo est?
Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.—P.

head, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill (which furnishes the tortoise-shell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is esteemed, by the greatest part of those who are acquainted with its taste, as the most delicious of eatables; and that it is a most wholesome food, we were amply convinced by our own experience: For we fed on this for near four months, and consequently had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not possibly have escaped us. At this island we took what quantity we pleased with great facility; for, as they are an amphibious animal, and get on shore to lay their eggs, which they generally deposit in a large hole in the sand, just above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the sun, we usually dispersed several of our men along the beach, whose business it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we carried them off at our leisure. These proved of great service both in lengthening out our store of provision, and in heartening the whole crew with an almost constant supply of fresh and palatable food; for the turtle being large, generally weighing about 200lb. weight each, what we took with us lasted us near a month, and by that time we met with a fresh recruit on the coast of Mexico, where we often saw them in the heat of the day floating in great numbers on the surface of the water fast asleep. Our mode of taking them was this; we sent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver; when the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, and took care to rise close upon it; on seizing the shell near the tail, and pressing down the hinder parts, the turtle awakened, and began to strike with its claws, which motion supported both it and the diver, till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted turtle for the succeeding four months in which we continued at sea; and though we had been three months on board, without putting our foot on shore, except for the few days we stayed at the island of Quibo, and those employed in the attack of Payta, yet, in the whole seven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandez to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole squadron than two men; a most incontestable proof that the turtle on which we fed for the last four months

of

of this term, was at least innocent, if not something more. It appears wonderful, therefore, that a species of food so very palatable and salubrious, and so much abounding in those parts, should be proscribed by the Spaniards as unwholesome, and little less than poisonous. Perhaps the strange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous aversion, which is strongly rooted in all the inhabitants of that coast, and of which we had many instances in the course of this navigation. Some Indian and negro slaves we had taken in our prizes, and continued on board to assist in navigating our ships, were astonished at our feeding on turtle, and seemed fully persuaded that it would soon destroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even suffered in our health by a continuation of this diet, they at last got so far the better of their aversion, as to be persuaded to taste it, to which the absence of all other kinds of fresh provisions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very sparingly, that they began to eat it: But the relish improving upon them by degrees, they at last grew extremely fond of it, preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the delicious and plentiful repasts it would be always in their power to procure, when they should return to their country. Those who are acquainted with the manner of life of these unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of spirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greatest joy they know; and that the discovering a method which would supply them with what quantity they pleased of a kind more luxurious to the palate than any their haughty lords and masters could indulge in, was a circumstance which they considered as the most fortunate that could befal them.

In three days time we had completed our business at this place, and were extremely impatient to put to sea, that we might arrive time enough on the coast of Mexico to intercept the Manilla galleon. The wind being contrary detained us a night, and the next day when we got into the offing, (which we did through the same channel by which we entered) we were obliged to keep hovering about the island, in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to sea, and continuing to the southward of the island, looking out for the Gloucester, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, discern-

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ed a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and coming up took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, bound to Cheripe, an inconsiderable village on the continent, and was called the *Jesu Nazareno.* She had nothing on board but some oakum, about a ton of rock-salt, and between 30*l.* and 40*l.* in specie, most of it consisting of small silver money, intended for purchasing a cargo of provisions at Cheripe.

I cannot but observe, for the use of future cruisers, that had we been in want of provisions, we had by this capture an obvious method of supplying ourselves. For at Cheripe, whither she was bound, there is a constant store of provisions prepared for the vessels which go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly supplied from thence: So that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might easily have seized a large store without any hazard, since Cheripe is a place of no strength.

On the 12th of December we were relieved from the perplexity we had suffered, by the separation of the Gloucester; for on that day she joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the southward on our first arrival, she had sprung her fore-top-mast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. We now scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno, the prize we took last, and having the greatest impatience to get into a proper station for the galleon, stood altogether to the westward, and notwithstanding the impediments we met with, left the island of Quibo in about nine days after our first coming in sight of it.

Section XIX.

From Quibo to the Coast of Mexico.

On the 12th of December we left Quibo, and the same day the commodore delivered fresh instructions to the captains of the men of war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvouses they were to make, and the courses they were to steer in case of a separation. And first, they were directed to use all possible dispatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes

latitudes of 18 and 19°; from thence, they were to beat up the coast at eight or ten leagues distance from the shore, till they came a-breast of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of 20° 20′. When they arrived there, they were to continue cruising on that station till the 14th of February; and then they were to proceed to the middle island of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of 21° 25′, bearing from Cape Corientes N. W. by N., twenty-five leagues distant. And if at this island they did not meet the commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then to make the best of their way to the island of Macao, on the coast of China. These orders being distributed, we had little doubt of arriving soon upon our intended station; as we expected, upon the increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either with tempestuous weather from the western quarter, or with dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a sultry air; so that it was the 25th of December before we got a sight of the island of Cocos, which by our reckoning was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and we had the mortification to make so little way, that we did not lose sight of it again in five days. This island we found to be in the latitude of 5° 20′ north. It has a high hummock towards the western part, which descends gradually, and at last terminates in a low point to the eastward. From the island of Cocos we stood W. by N., and were till the 9th of January in running an hundred leagues more. We had at first flattered ourselves, that the uncertain weather and western gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more distant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eastern trade-wind: But as our hopes were so long baffled, and our patience quite exhausted, we began at length to despair of succeeding in the great purpose we had in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galleon; and this produced a general dejection amongst us, as we had at first considered this project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our despondency was at last somewhat alleviated, by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of January, a gale for the first time sprang up from the N. E., and on this we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Glou-

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cester did the Carmin, making all the sail we could to improve the advantage, for we still suspected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not last long; but the next day we had the satisfaction to find, that the wind did not only continue in the same quarter, but blew with so much briskness and steadiness, that we now no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. And as we advanced apace towards our station, our hopes began to revive, and our despair by degrees gave place to pleasing prejudices: For though the customary season of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco was already elapsed, yet we were unreasonable enough to flatter ourselves, that some accidental delay might lengthen her passage beyond its usual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12° 50′, but on that day it shifted to the westward of the north: This change we imputed to our having haled up too soon, though we then esteemed ourselves full seventy leagues from the coast, which plainly shows, that the trade-wind doth not take place, but at a considerable distance from the continent. After this, the wind was not so favourable to us as it had been: However, we still continued to advance, and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught some turtle on the surface of the water, and several dolphins, bonitos, and albicores. One day, as one of the sail-makers mates was fishing from the end of the gib-boom, he lost his hold, and dropped into the sea; and the ship, which was then going at the rate of six or seven knots, went directly over him: But as we had the Carmelo in tow, we instantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over several ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and twisting it round his arm, was hauled into the ship, without having received any other injury than a wrench in his arm, of which he soon recovered.

On the 26th of January, we stood to the eastward, expecting, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; but though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sight of it at sun-set, and therefore continued our course, not doubting but we should see it by the next morning. About ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard

board-bow, bearing from us N.N.E. The Tryal's prize too, about a mile a-head of us, made a signal at the same time for seeing a sail; and as we had no doubt that what we saw was a ship's light, we were extremely animated with a firm persuasion, that it was the Manilla galleon, which had been so long the object of our wishes: And what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one, for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ship for a direction to her consort. We immediately cast off the Carmelo and pressed forward with all our canvass, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging in the next half hour, as we sometimes conceived the chase to be about a mile distant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns; and some positively averred, that besides the light, they could plainly discern her sails. The commodore himself was so fully persuaded that we should be soon along-side of her, that he sent for his first lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to see all the great guns loaded with two round-shot for the first broadside, and after that with one round-shot and one grape, strictly charging him, at the same time, not to suffer a gun to be fired, till he, the commodore, should give orders, which he informed the lieutenant would not be till we arrived within pistol-shot of the enemy. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manilla ship, whose wealth, with that of her supposed consort, we now estimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were most strangely and vexatiously disappointed, by finding that the light which had occasioned all this bustle and expectancy was only a fire on the shore. Indeed the circumstances of this deception are so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible; for, by our run during the night, and the distance of the land in the morning, this fire, when we first discovered it, must have been above twenty-five leagues from us. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for several days afterwards; it was not a volcano, but rather, as I suppose, stubble, or heath, set on fire for some purpose of agriculture.[1]

[1] The reasons for this supposition ought to have been adduced. It is

At sun-rising, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N.W. to E.½N. On this land we observed two remarkable hummocks, such as are usually called paps, which bore north from us: These, a Spanish pilot and two Indians, who were the only persons amongst us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coast; for we found these paps to be in the latitude of 17° 56′, whereas those over Acapulco are said to be in 17° only; and we afterwards found our suspicions of their skill to be well grounded: However, they were very confident, and assured us, that the height of the mountains was itself an infallible mark of the harbour; the coast, as they pretended, (though falsely) being generally low to the eastward and westward of it.

And now being in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a great doubt with us (as it was near the end of January,) whether she was or was not arrived: But examining our prisoners about it, they assured us, that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us, that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was as yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this information, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her for some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner, that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved: However, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect that she had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our present cruise with cheerfulness, if she was not. With this view the commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly, resolved to send a boat, under night, into the harbour

not improbable that the volcanic mountain in the neighbourhood of Acapulco did furnish this vexatious light.—E.

harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manilla ship was there or not, one of the Indians being very positive that this might be done without the boat itself being discovered. To execute this project, the barge was dispatched the 6th of February, with a sufficient crew and two officers, who took with them a Spanish pilot, and the Indian who had insisted on the practicability of this measure, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr Anson, that, agreeable to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spanish pilots had at first asserted Acapulco to lie; that when they had satisfied themselves in this particular, they steered to the eastward, in hopes of discovering it, and had coasted along shore thirty-two leagues; that in this whole range they met chiefly with sandy beaches of a great length, over which the sea broke with so much violence, that it was impossible for a boat to land; that at the end of their run they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which from their appearance and their latitude, they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of Acapulco; but that not having a sufficient quantity of fresh water and provision for their passage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the commodore, to acquaint him with their disappointment. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port, the commodore resolving to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprize, when we were arrived within a moderate distance. And the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was again dispatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the 13th we espied a high land to the eastward, which we first imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneo, where there is a small harbour, of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter. And now, having waited six days without any news of our barge, we began to be uneasy for her safety; but, on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of February, she returned. The officers informed the commodore, that they had discovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they esteemed to bear from us E.S.E. at least fifty leagues distant:

distant: That on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spanish pilot, nor the Indian who were with them, could give them any information where they then were; but that while they were lying upon their oars in suspence what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light upon the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible towards it, they found it to be in a fishing canoe, which they surprised, with three negroes that belonged to it. It seems the negroes at first attempted to jump overboard; and being so near the land, they would easily have swam on shore; but they were prevented by presenting a piece at them, on which they readily submitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea: This they did to deceive those who perhaps might be sent from the town to search after the canoe; for upon seeing several pieces of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no suspicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmost strength in pulling out to sea, and by dawn of day had gained such an offing, as rendered it impossible for them to be seen from the coast.

And now having got the three negroes in our possession, who were not ignorant of the transactions at Acapulco, we were soon satisfied about the most material points which had long kept us in suspense: And on examination we found, that we were indeed disappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learnt other circumstances which still revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already lost: For though our negro prisoners informed us that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coast, yet they at the same time told us, that the galleon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and provisions for her return, and that the viceroy of Mexico had by proclamation fixed her departure from

from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N.S. This last news was most joyfully received by us, as we had no doubt but she must certainly fall into our hands, and as it was much more eligible to seize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, was prodigiously more to be esteemed by us than the cargo itself; great part of which would have perished on our hands, and no part of it could have been disposed of by us at so advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable prize that was to be met with in any part of the globe. As all our future projects will be in some sort regulated with a view to the possession of this celebrated galleon, and as the commerce which is carried on by means of these vessels between the city of Manilla and the port of Acapulco is perhaps the most valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I shall endeavour, in the ensuing chapter, to give as distinct an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in some degree interested, and as I flatter myself, that from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to describe it with more distinctness than has hitherto been done, at least in our language.

Section XX.

An Account of the Commerce carried on betweeen the City of Manilla on the Island of Luconia, and the Port of Acapulco on the Coast of Mexico.[1]

Though Spain did not acquire the property of any of the spice islands, by the enterprising labours of Magellan (related in our tenth volume, to which we refer,) yet the discovery made in his expedition to the Philippine Islands, was thought too considerable to be neglected; for these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and

[1] Much of the original in this section is omitted, as either unimportant now, or elsewhere given in the work.

and were very well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India; and therefore a communication was soon established, and carefully supported between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru: So that the city of Manilla, (which was built on the island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) soon became the mart for all Indian commodities, which were brought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the South-Seas to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to Manilla being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent and considerable, and its trade so far increased, as to engage the attention of the court of Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manilla, in which voyage the trade-wind continually favoured them; so that notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months: But then the return from Manilla was extremely troublesome and tedious, and is said to have sometimes taken them up above a twelvemonth, which, if they pretended to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at; and it is asserted, that in their first voyages they were so imprudent and unskilful as to attempt this course. However, that route was soon laid aside by the advice, as it is said, of a jesuit, who persuaded them to steer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then by the favour of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of California. This has been the practice for at least a hundred and sixty years past, (1740-4:) For Sir Thomas Cavendish, in the year 1586, engaged off the south end of California a vessel bound from Manilla to the American coast. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to shorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the staple of this commerce to and from Manilla was removed from Callao, on the coast of Peru, to the port of Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, where it continues fixed at this time.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manilla, but is confined by very particular regulations, somewhat analogous to those by which the trade of

of the register ships from Cadiz to the West-Indies is restrained.

The trade is limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spanish manuscripts, I have seen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly surpass this sum; and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet from many comparisons I conclude, that the return cannot be greatly short of three millions of dollars.

This trade from Manilla to Acapulco and back again, is usually carried on in one or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manilla about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following, and having there disposed of their effects, return for Manilla some time in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year: For this reason, though there is often no more than one ship employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and therefore are provided three or four stout ships, that, in case of any accident, the trade may not be suspended.

The ship having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. It appears that the getting through the Boccadero to the eastward must be a troublesome navigation, and in fact it is sometimes the end of August before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this passage, and are clear of the islands, they stand to the northward of the east, in order to get into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California.[2] It is most remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that from the time the Manilla ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southermost extremity;

[2] In the original is inserted a chart for the explanation of this track, which it is unneecessary to give here.—E.

extremity: And therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandise and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time. A supply indeed they have, but the reliance upon it seems at first sight so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risque perishing by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30° and 40° north, and which they are always prepared to catch: For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale, whenever the rain descends; these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboe, so that all the water which falls on the mats drain into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail them, so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all their water jars several times over.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution and concern for so rich a vessel: For it is said, that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. And indeed the instructions given to their captains (which I have seen) seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of 30° if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is absolutely necessary for the getting a westerly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very absurd restriction; since it can scarcely be doubted, that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than in the latitude of 30°: So that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure. If instead

stead of steering E. N. E. into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood N.E., or even still more northerly, into the latitude of 40° or 45°, in part of which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them, I doubt not they might considerably contract their voyage. And this is not merely matter of speculation; for I am credibly informed, that about the year 1721, a French ship, by pursuing this course, ran from the coast of China to the valley of Vanderas on the coast of Mexico, in less than fifty days: But it was said that this ship, notwithstanding the shortness of her passage, suffered prodigiously by the scurvy, so that she had only four or five of her crew left when she arrived in America.

The Manilla ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California: And when she has run into the longitude of 96° from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, which, being called Porra by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within sight of land, till they draw near its southern extremity.

The most usual time of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January: But this navigation is so uncertain, that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean; being, as it were, a bason surrounded by very high mountains: But the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is so pent up by the hills, that it has scarcely any circulation. The place is besides destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from a considerable distance; and is in all respects so inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilst the Manilla galleon is in the port, it is almost deserted.

When the galleon arrives in this port, she is generally moored

moored on its western side, and her cargo is delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manilla are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is indeed no time to be lost; for it is an express order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return, before the first day of April, N. S.

The principal return is made in silver, and consequently the rest of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal and a few sweetmeats, the produce of the American settlements, together with European millinery ware for the women at Manilla, and some Spanish wines, such as tent and sherry, which are intended for the use of their priests in the administration of the sacrament.

This difference in the cargo of the ship to and from Manilla, occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages. For the galleon, when she sets sail from Manilla, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tire of guns, but carries them in her hold, till she draws near Cape St Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But on her return from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tire is (or ought to be) always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manilla. And there being besides many merchants who take their passage to Manilla, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for, by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and runs on that parallel, till he gets sight of the island of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of

of St Bartholomew, and of the island of Gasparico. He is also told in his instructions, that to prevent his passing the Ladrones in the dark, there are orders given that, through all the month of June, fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two, but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that centinels will be posted not only on that Cape, but likewise in Catanduanas, Butusan, Birriborongo, and on the island of Batan. These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship, which the captain is carefully to observe: For if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manilla of all that passes. But if, after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude, that there is nothing to fear: And he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manilla, and the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

SECTION

SECTION XXI.

Our Cruise off the Port of Acapulco for the Manilla Ship.

I HAVE already mentioned, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where she had surprised three negro fishermen, gave us inexpressible satisfaction, as we learnt from our prisoners, that the galleon was then preparing to put to sea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March, N.S. that is, to the 3d of March, according to our reckoning.

Having satisfied ourselves upon this head, we indulged our curiosity in enquiring after other news; when the prisoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco, of our having plundered and burnt the town of Paita; and that, on this occasion, the governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken several precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that in particular, he had placed a guard on the island which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge: So that had the barge succeeded in her first attempt, or had she arrived at the port the second time two days sooner, she could scarcely have avoided being seized on, or if she had escaped, it must have been with the loss of the greatest part of her crew, as she would have been under the fire of the guard, before she had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumstance that greatly encouraged us, as it seemed to demonstrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet discovered us, but likewise that they had now no farther apprehensions of our visiting their coast. Indeed the prisoners assured us, that they had no knowledge of our being in those seas, and that they had therefore flattered themselves, that, in the long interval since our taking of Paita, we had steered another course. But we did not consider the opinion of these negro prisoners so authentic a proof of our being hitherto concealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth, which being the action of the governor, was of all arguments the most convincing, as he might be supposed

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to have intelligence, with which the rest of the inhabitants were unacquainted.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiscovered, and that the time was fixed for the departure of the galleon from Acapulco, we made all necessary preparations, and waited with the utmost impatience for the important day. As this was the 3d of March, and it was the 19th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, the commodore resolved to continue the greatest part of the intermediate time on his present station, to the westward of Acapulco, conceiving that in this situation there would be less danger of his being seen from the shore, which was the only circumstance that could deprive us of the immense treasure, on which we had at present so eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval, we were employed in scrubbing and cleansing our ships, in bringing them into their most advantageous trim, and in regulating the orders, signals, and stations to be observed, when we should arrive off Acapulco, and the time of the departure of the galleon should draw nigh.

On the first of March, we made the high lands, usually called the paps over Acapulco, and got with all possible expedition into the situation prescribed by the commodore's orders. The distribution of our squadron on this occasion, both for the intercepting the galleon, and for the avoiding a discovery from the shore, was so very judicious, that it well merits to be distinctly described.

The Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear N. N. E., at fifteen leagues distance, which was a sufficient offing to prevent our being seen by the enemy. To the westward of the Centurion there was stationed the Carmelo, and to the eastward were the Tryal prize, the Gloucester, and the Carmin: These were all ranged in a circular line, and each ship was three leagues distant from the next; so that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues distant from each other: And as the galleon could, without doubt, be discerned at six leagues distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of our squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were so connected by our signals, as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line: And, to render this disposition still more complete, and to prevent

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even the possibility of the galleon's escaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and the Gloucester were both manned and sent in shore; and were ordered to lie all day at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where they could not possibly be discovered; but they were directed in the night to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and as the light of the morning came on, to return back again to their day-posts. When the cutters should first discover the Manilla ship, one of them was to return to the squadron, and to make a signal, whether the galleon stood to the eastward or to the westward; whilst the other was to follow the galleon at a distance, and if it grew dark, to direct the squadron in their chace, by shewing false fires.

Besides the care we had taken to prevent the galleon from passing us unobserved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage, when we came up with her: For, considering the thinness of our hands, and the vaunting accounts given by the Spaniards of her size, her guns, and her strength, this was a consideration not to be neglected. As we supposed that none of our ships but the Centurion and the Gloucester were capable of lying alongside of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and the Carmin, except what were just sufficient to navigate those ships; and Captain Saunders was ordered to send from the Tryal prize ten Englishmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Gloucester. For the encouragement of our negroes, we promised them, that on their good behaviour they should all have their freedom; and as they had been almost every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of service to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the usage they had met with amongst us, they seemed disposed to exert themselves to the utmost of their power.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galleon, we expected, with the utmost impatience, the so-often-mentioned third of March, the day fixed for her departure. And on that day we were all of us most eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco; and we were so strangely prepossessed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an assurance of her coming out of port, that some or other of us were

were constantly imagining they discovered one of our cutters returning with a signal. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the succeeding night passed without any news of the galleon: However, we did not yet despair, but were all heartily disposed to flatter ourselves, that some unforeseen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and suggestions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the viceroy for her sailing was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of March was Sunday the beginning of Passion-week, which is observed by the Papists with great strictness, and a total cessation from all kinds of labour, so that no ship is permitted to stir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehensions for some days, and disposed us not to expect the galleon till the week following. On the Friday in this week our cutters returned to us, the officers being very confident that the galleon was still in port, and that she could not possibly have come out but they must have seen her. On the Monday morning succeeding Passion-week, that is, on the 15th of March, the cutters were again dispatched to their old station, and our hopes were once more indulged in as sanguine prepossessions as before; but in a week's time our eagerness was greatly abated, and a general dejection and despondency took place. It is true, there were some few amongst us who still kept up their spirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reasons to satisfy themselves, that the disappointment had been occasioned by a casual delay of the galleon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total suspension of her departure for the whole season: But these speculations were not relished by the generality of our people; for they were persuaded that the enemy had, by some accident, discovered our being upon the coast, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And indeed this persuasion was but too well founded; for we afterwards learnt, that our barge, when sent on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, had been seen from the shore; and that this circumstance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coast) was to them a sufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our squadron; on which they stopped the galleon till the succeeding year.

The commodore himself, though he declared not his opinion,

nion, was yet in his own thoughts very apprehensive that we were discovered, and that the departure of the galleon was put off; and he had, in consequence of this opinion, formed a plan for possessing himself of Acapulco; for he had no doubt that the treasure remained in the town, though the orders for dispatching the galleon were countermanded.[3]

His scheme was formed on a supposition that the galleon was detained till the next year; but as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a possibility that she might still put to sea in a short time, the commodore thought it prudent to continue his cruise upon this station, as long as the necessary attention to his stores of wood and water, and to the convenient season for his future passage to China, would give him leave; and therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the squadron did not change its position till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in some pain for them, apprehending they might have suffered either from the enemy or the weather; but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we discovered them, though at a great distance and to the leeward of the squadron: We bore down to them and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their station the day before, without having seen any thing of the galleon; and we found, that the reason of their being so far to the leeward of us was a strong current, which had driven the whole squadron to windward.

It afterwards appeared that this prolongation of our cruise was a very prudent measure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of seizing the treasure, on which we had so long fixed our thoughts. For it seems, after the embargo was laid on the galleon, the persons principally interested in the cargo sent several expresses to Mexico, to beg that she might still be permitted to depart: For as they knew, by the accounts sent from Paita, that we had not more than three hundred men in all, they insisted that there was nothing to be feared from us; for that the galleon (carrying above twice as many hands as our whole squadron) would be greatly an overmatch for us. Though the viceroy was inflexible;

[3] It is unnecessary to detail this plan, as, for sufficient reasons soon discovered, it was not attempted to be executed.—E.

flexible; yet, on this representation, she was kept ready for the sea for near three weeks after the first order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ships being joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders; and upon enquiry into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the squadron, it was found to be so very slender, that we were under a necessity of quitting our station to procure a fresh supply. It was agreed, that the harbour of Segnataneo or Chequetan being the nearest to us, was, on that account, the most eligible; it was therefore immediately resolved to make the best of our way thither: And that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not abandon our views upon the galleon, which perhaps, upon certain intelligence of our ship being employed at Chequetan, might venture to slip out to sea; our cutter, under the command of Mr Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal prize, was ordered to cruise off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days, that if the galleon should set sail in that interval, we might be speedily informed of it. In pursuance of these resolutions we endeavoured to ply to the westward, to gain our intended port, but were often interrupted in our progress by calms and adverse currents: In these intervals we employed ourselves in taking out the most valuable part of the cargoes of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which two ships we intended to destroy as soon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the first of April we were so far advanced towards Segualaneo, that we thought it expedient to send out two boats, that they might range along the coast, and discover the watering-place; they were gone some days, and our water being now very short, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily supplies of turtle, for had we been entirely confined to salt provisions, we must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate. Indeed our present circumstances were sufficiently alarming, and gave the most considerate amongst us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet discovered a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our cask and other accidents, we had not ten days water on board the whole squadron; so that from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coast, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers, (the only guides we had to

to trust to) we were apprehensive of being soon exposed to a calamity, the most terrible of any in the long disheartening catalogue of the distresses of a sea-faring life.

But these gloomy suggestions were soon happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having discovered a place proper for our purpose, about seven miles to the westward of the rocks of Seguataneo, which, by the description they gave of it, appeared to be the port called by Dampier the harbour of Chequetan. They were ordered out again the next day, to sound the harbour and its entrance, which they had represented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger; so that on the 7th we stood in, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom. The Gloucester came to an anchor at the same time with us; but the Camelo and the Carmin having fallen to leeward, the Tryal prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them in, which in two or three days she effected.

Section XXII.

A short Account of Chequetan, and of the adjacent Coast and Country.

The harbour of Chequetan lies in the latitude of 17° 36′ N. and is about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco. It is easy to be discovered by any ship that will keep well in with the land, especially by such as range down coast from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of sand which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the westward, against which the sea breaks with such violence that it is impossible to land in any part of it; but yet the ground is so clean, that ships, in the fair season, may anchor in great safety at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of some small eminencies there are several look-out towers, so that the face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect: For the cultivated part, which is the part here described, extends some leagues back from the shore, and there appears to be bounded by the chain of mountains, which

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stretch to a considerable distance on either side of Acapulco. It is a most remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, being, as hath been mentioned, eighteen leagues, and containing, in appearance, the most populous and best planted district of the whole coast, there should be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations either for fishing, coasting, or for pleasure.

The beach here described is the surest guide for finding the harbour of Chequetan; for five miles to the westward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at first makes like an island, and is in shape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan, hereafter mentioned, though much smaller. Three miles to the westward of this hummock is a white rock lying near the shore, which cannot easily be passed by unobserved; it is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The westward point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan. This hill, like the forementioned hummock, may be at first mistaken for an island, though it be, in reality, a peninsula, which is joined to the continent by a low and narrow isthmus, covered over with shrubs and small trees. The bay of Seguataneo extends from this hill a great way to the westward; and at a small distance from the hill, and opposite to the entrance of the bay, there is an assemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of these rocks are high and large, and, together with several other smaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to resemble the form of a cross, and are called the White Friars. These rocks bear W. by N. from Petaplan, and about seven miles to the westward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is still more minutely distinguished by a large and single rock, that rises out of the water a mile and a half distant from its entrance, and bears S. ½ W. from the middle of it.[1]

These are the infallible marks by which the harbour of Chequetan may be known to those who keep well in with the land; and I must add, that the coast is no ways to be dreaded from the middle of October to the beginning of May, nor is there then any danger from the winds, though in the remaining part of the year there are frequent and violent

[1] In the original are references to some plates, which cannot be given in this work.—E.

lent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales, in all directions of the compass. But as to those who keep at any considerable distance from the coast, there is no other method to be taken by them for finding this harbour than that of making it by its latitude; for there are so many ranges of mountains rising one upon the back of another within land, that no drawings of the appearance of the coast can be at all depended on when off at sea, for every little change of distance, or variation of position, brings new mountains in view, and produces an infinity of different prospects, which would render all attempts of delineating the aspect of the coast impossible.

The harbour is environed on all sides, except to the westward, with high mountains overspread with trees. The passage into it is very safe on either side of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eastward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with stones, but within it is soft mud: And it must be remembered, that in coming to an anchor a good allowance should be made for a large swell, which frequently causes a great send of the sea; as likewise for the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which we observed to be about five feet, and that it set nearly E. and W.

The watering-place had the appearance of a large standing lake, without any visible outlet into the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand. The origin of this lake is a spring, that bubbles out of the ground near half a mile within the country. We found the water a little brackish, but more considerably so towards the sea-side, for the nearer we advanced towards the spring-head, the softer and fresher it proved: This laid us under a necessity of filling all our casks from the furthest part of the lake, and occasioned us some trouble, and would have proved still more difficult had it not been for our particular management, which, for the conveniency of it, deserves to be recommended to all who shall hereafter water at this place. Our method consisted in making use of canoes which drew but little water; for, loading them with a number of small casks, they easily got up the lake to the spring-head, and the small casks being there filled, were in the same manner transported back again to the beach, where some of our hands always attended to start them into other casks of a larger size.

Though this lake, during our continuance there, appear-
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ed to have no outlet into the sea, yet there is reason to suppose that in the wet season it overflows the strand, and communicates with the ocean; for Dampier, who was formerly here, speaks of it as a large river. Indeed, there must be a very great body of water amassed before the lake can rise high enough to overflow the strand, for the neighbouring country is so low, that great part of it must be covered with water before it can run out over the beach.

As the country in the neighbourhood, particularly the tract which we have already described, appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped thence to have procured fresh provision and other refreshments which we stood in need of. With this view, the morning after we came to an anchor, the commodore ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to discover some town or village, where they were to attempt a correspondence with the inhabitants; for we doubted not, if we could have any intercourse with them, but that by presents of some of the coarse merchandise, with which our prizes abounded (which, though of little consequence to us, would to them be extremely valuable,) we should allure them to furnish us with whatever fruits or fresh provisions were in their power. Our people were directed on this occasion to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to make as little ostentation of hostility as possible; for we were sensible that we could meet with no wealth here worth our notice, and that what necessaries we really wanted we should in all probability be better supplied with by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening an intercourse with the inhabitants proved ineffectual, for towards evening, the party which had been ordered to march into the country, returned greatly fatigued with their unusual exercise, and some of them so far spent as to have fainted by the way, and to be obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions. They had marched in all, as they conceived, about ten miles, in a beaten road, where they often saw the fresh dung of horses or mules. When they had got about five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the east and the other to the west. After some deliberation about the course they should take, they agreed to pursue the eastern road, which, when they had followed for some time, led them at once

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into a large plain or savannah; on one side of which they discovered a centinel on horseback with a pistol in his hand: It was supposed that when they first saw him he was asleep, but his horse startled at the glittering of their arms, and, turning round suddenly, rode off with his master, who was very near being unhorsed in the surprise, but he recovered his seat, and escaped with the loss of his hat and his pistol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people ran after him, in hopes of discovering some village or habitation, but as he had the advantage of being on horseback, they soon lost sight of him. However, they were unwilling to come back without making some discovery, and therefore still followed the track they were in; but the heat of the day increasing, and finding no water to quench their thirst, they were first obliged to halt, and then resolved to return; for, as they saw no signs of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reason to believe that there was any village or settlement near them: But, to leave no means untried of procuring some intercourse with the people, the officers stuck up several poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations, written in Spanish, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour and to traffic with us, giving the strongest assurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any provisions they should bring us. This was doubtless a very prudent measure, but it produced no effect; for we never saw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of Chequetan. But had our men, upon the division of the path, taken the western road instead of the eastern, it would soon have led them to a village or town, which, in some Spanish manuscripts, is mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which we afterwards learnt was not above two miles from that turning.

And on this occasion I cannot help mentioning another adventure which happened to some of our people in the bay of Petaplan, as it may help to give the reader a just idea of the temper of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was sent by the commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coast to the eastward, particularly to make observations on the bay and watering-place of Petaplan. As Mr Brett with one of the boats was preparing to go on shore towards the hill of Petaplan, he, accidentally

dentally looking across the bay, perceived, on the opposite strand, three small squadrons of horse parading upon the beach, and seeming to advance towards the place where he proposed to land. On sight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but sixteen men with him, and stood over the bay towards them; and he soon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very sightly horses, and were armed with carbines and lances. On seeing him make towards them they formed upon the beach, and seemed resolved to dispute his landing, firing several distant shot at him as he drew near; till at last, the boat being arrived within a reasonable distance of the most advanced squadron, Mr Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this resolute cavalry instantly ran in great confusion into the wood. In this precipitate flight one of their horses fell down and threw his rider; but whether he was wounded or not we could not learn, for both man and horse soon got up again, and followed the rest. In the mean time the other two squadrons, who were drawn up at a great distance behind, out of the reach of our shot, were calm spectators of the rout of their comrades; for they had halted on our first approach, and never advanced afterwards. It was, doubtless, fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with so little prudence, and exerted so little spirit, for had they concealed themselves till our men had landed, it is scarcely possible but the whole boat's crew must have fallen into their hands, since the Spaniards were not much short of two hundred in number. However, the discovery of so considerable a force collected in this bay of Petaplan, obliged us constantly to keep a boat or two before it; for we were apprehensive that the cutter, which we had left to cruise off Acapulco, might, on her return, be surprised by the enemy, if she did not receive timely information of her danger.

After our unsuccessful attempt to engage the people of the country to furnish us with the necessaries we wanted, we were obliged to be contented with what we could procure in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fish here in tolerable quantities, especially when the smoothness of the water permitted us to hale the seyne. Amongst the rest, we got here cavallies, breams, mullets, soles, fiddle-fish, sea eggs, and lobsters; and here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fish called the Torpedo, or numbing fish, which is in shape very like the fiddle-fish, and is not

not to be known from it but by a brown circular spot of about the bigness of a crown-piece near the centre of its back; perhaps its figure will be better understood when I say it is a flat fish, much resembling the thorn-back. This fish is of a most singular nature, productive of the strangest effects on the human body; for whoever handles it, or happens even to set his foot upon it, is presently seized with a numbness all over him, but more distinguishable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The same effect, too, will be, in some degree, produced by touching the fish with any thing held in the hand; for I myself had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to my right arm through a walking cane, which I rested on the body of the fish for some time, and I make no doubt but I should have been much more sensibly affected had not the fish been near expiring when I made the experiment: For it is observable that this influence acts with most vigour when the fish is first taken out of the water, and entirely ceases when it is dead, so that it may be then handled, or even eaten, without any inconvenience. I shall only add that the numbness of my arm on this occasion did not go off on a sudden, as the accounts of some naturalists gave me reason to expect, but diminished gradually, so that I had some sensation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fish we met with here, I must add, that though turtle now grew scarce, and we met with none in this harbour of Chequetan, yet our boats, which, as I have mentioned, were stationed off Petaplan, often supplied us therewith; and though this was a food that we had now been so long as it were confined to, (for it was the only fresh provisions which we had tasted for near six months,) yet we were far from being cloyed with it, or finding that the relish we had of it at all diminished.

The animals we met with on shore were principally guanos, with which the country abounds, and which are by some reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey here, except alligators, several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. However, we were satisfied there were tygers in the woods, though none of them came in sight; for we every morning found the beach near the watering-place imprinted with their footsteps: But we never apprehended any mischief from them, for they are by no means so fierce as the Asiatic or African tyger, and are rarely

rarely, if ever, known to attack mankind. Birds were in sufficient plenty, especially pheasants of different kinds, some of them of an uncommon size, but they were very dry and tasteless food. Besides these we had a variety of smaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreshments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the best kinds: There were, it is true, a few bushes scattered about the woods, which supplied us with limes, but we scarcely could procure enough for our present use; and these, with a small plumb of an agreeable acid, called in Jamaica the hog-plumb, together with another fruit called a papah, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other useful vegetable here worth mentioning, except brook-lime: This indeed grew in great quantities near the fresh-water banks; and, as it was esteemed an antiscorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterness made it very unpalatable.

By all that has been said, it will appear that the conveniences of this port of Chequetan, particularly in the articles of refreshment, are not altogether such as might be desired: But, upon the whole, it is a place of considerable consequence, as the only secure harbour in a vast extent of coast, except Acapulco.

SECTION XXIII.

Account of Proceedings at Chequetan and on the adjacent Coast, till our setting sail for Asia.

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we sent about ninety of our men well armed on shore, forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as has been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here it was agreed, after mature consultation, to destroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin, whose fate had been before resolved on. Indeed the ship was in good repair and fit for the sea; but as the whole numbers on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man of war, we found it was impossible to divide them into three ships, without rendering them incapable

pable of navigating in safety in the tempestuous weather we had reason to expect on the coast of China, where we supposed we should arrive about the time of the change of the monsoons.

During our stay here there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our safety, which for some time they were in doubt about, I shall beg leave particularly to recite. I have observed, that from this harbour of Chequetan there was but one pathway which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and were thence convinced that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at some distance beyond the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon the other across the path; and at this barricado we constantly kept a guard: And we besides ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready, and, in case of any alarm, to march instantly to this post. Though our principal intention was to prevent our being disturbed by any sudden attack of the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was not in itself less important; this was to hinder our own people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be extremely solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the centinels, to let no person whatever pass beyond their post: But, notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Leger, who was the commodore's cook; and as he was a Frenchman, and suspected to be a papist, it was by some imagined that he had deserted with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; but this appeared by the event to be an ill-grounded surmise, for it was afterwards known that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain: And the vessel being obliged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was by the British consul sent from thence to England; where he brought the first authentic account of the safety of the commodore, and of what he had done in the

the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own seizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricado, where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stopped and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his master's store; and that in this occupation he was surprised by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence: And afterwards at Mexico his treatment in prison was sufficiently severe, and the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed, Leger's fortune was upon the whole extremely singular; for after the hazards he had run in the commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement amongst the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England: For though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, for he was killed in an insignificant night brawl, the cause of which could scarcely be discovered.

And here I must observe, that though the enemy never appeared in sight during our stay in this harbour, yet we perceived that there were large parties encamped in the woods about us; for we could see their smokes, and could thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding us at a distance; and just before our coming away they seemed, by the increase of their fires, to have received a considerable reinforcement.

Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and, in short, all our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan were completed: So that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and the Carmin, all which we intended to destroy, were towed on shore and scuttled, and a quantity of combustible materials were distributed in their upper works; and the next morning the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor, but as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour.

harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was dispatched back again to set fire to our prize, which was accordingly executed. And a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which was ordered to cruise before the port of Acapulco, when we came off that station. And on this occasion I must mention more particularly than I have yet done, the views of the commodore in leaving the cutter before that port.

When we were necessitated to make for Chequetan to take in our water, Mr Anson considered that our being in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco; and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleon: He therefore ordered the cutter to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was doubtless a much better sailer than the galleon, Mr Anson in this case resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific Ocean: And supposing he should not have met with her in his passage, (which considering that he would have kept nearly the same parallel, was not very improbable,) yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, before her; and that being the first land she makes on her return to the Philippines, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her, by cruising a few days in that station. But the viceroy of Mexico ruined this project by keeping the galleon in the port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr Hughes, the commander of the cutter, the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed, directed him to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr Anson, who resolved to cruise for him there for a certain number of days; after which it was added, that the commodore would return to the southward to join the rest of the squadron. This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe, (as we afterwards learnt they did) but could not impose on Mr Hughes,

Hughes, who well knew that the commodore had no squadron to join, nor any intention of steering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound cross the vast Pacific Ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coast as soon as possible; for as the stormy season was approaching apace, and as we had no further views in the American seas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from standing to the westward, the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan: And it was no small mortification to us, that our necessary employment there had detained us so much longer than we expected; and now we were farther detained by the absence of the cutter, and the standing towards Acapulco in search of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruise had been expired near a fortnight, we suspected that she had been discovered from the shore; and that the governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her, which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprize. However, this being only conjecture, the commodore, as soon as we got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her: And to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought to every night; and the Gloucester, whose station was a league within us towards the shore, carried a light which the cutter could not but perceive if she kept along shore, as we supposed she would do; and as a farther security, the Centurion and the Gloucester alternately showed two false fires every half hour.

By Sunday, the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost, which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune in our present scarcity of hands, we were all greatly interested in: For the crew of the cutter, consisting of six men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purposely picked out for this service, and known to be every one of them of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded

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on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners in our possession, and a number of sick negroes, who could be of no service to us in the navigating of the ship. The commodore therefore wrote a letter the same day to the governor of Acapulco, telling him that he would release them all, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew; and the letter was dispatched the same afternoon by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a good opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of six other prisoners who all gave their parole for their return. The officer, besides the commodore's letter, carried with him a petition signed by all the prisoners, beseeching his excellency to acquiesce in the terms proposed. From a consideration of the number of our prisoners, and the quality of some of them, we did not doubt but the governor would readily comply, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an answer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday: But both on the Monday and Tuesday we were driven so far off shore, that we could not hope to receive any answer; and on the Wednesday morning we found ourselves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco; but as the wind was now favourable, we pressed forwards with all our sail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land in a few hours. Whilst we were thus standing in, the man at the mast-head called out that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-eastward: This we took for granted was the answer of the governor to the commodore's message, and we instantly edged towards it; but when we drew nearer, we found to our unspeakable joy that it was our own cutter. While she was still at a distance, we imagined that she had been discharged out of the port of Acapulco by the governor; but when she drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed, and with rest, and nourishing diet, which they were plentifully supplied with from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace. We learnt that they had kept the sea the whole time of their

their absence; that when they finished their cruise before Acapulco, and had just begun to ply to the westward in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them down the coast to the eastward in spite of all their efforts; that at length their water being all expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther on to the eastward, in quest of some convenient landing-place, where they might get a fresh supply; that in this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found every where so large a surf, that there was not the least possibility of their landing; that they passed some days in this dreadful situation without water, and having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtle which they caught; and at last, giving up all hopes of relief, the heat of the climate augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths; but that they were soon after happily relieved by a most unexpected incident, for there fell so heavy a rain, that by spreading their sails horizontally, and by putting bullets in the centres of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their casks; that immediately upon this fortunate supply they stood to the westward in quest of the commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined us in less than fifty hours, from the time they stood to the westward, after having been absent from us full forty-three days. Those who have an idea of the inconsiderable size of a cutter belonging to a sixty-gun ship, (being only an open boat about twenty-two feet in length,) and who will attend to the various accidents to which she was exposed during a six weeks continuance alone, in the open ocean, on so impracticable and dangerous a coast, will readily own that her return to us, after all the difficulties which she actually experienced, and the hazards to which she was each hour exposed, was little short of miraculous.

I cannot finish this article without remarking how little reliance navigators ought to have on the accounts of the Buccaneer writers: For though in this run eighty leagues to the eastward of Acapulco, she found no place where it was possible for a boat to land, yet those writers have not been ashamed to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within

within these limits, thereby exposing such as should confide in their relations to the risk of being destroyed by thirst.

Having received our cutter, the sole object of our coming a second time before Acapulco, the commodore resolved not to lose a moment's time longer, but to run off the coast with the utmost expedition, both as the stormy season on the coast of Mexico was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehensive of having the westerly monsoon to struggle with when we came upon the coast of China; and therefore he no longer stood towards Acapulco, as he now wanted no answer from the governor; but yet he resolved not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty which he had promised them; so that they were all immediately embarked in two launches which belonged to our prizes, those from the Centurion in one launch, and those from the Gloucester in the other. The launches were well equipped with masts, sails, and oars, and, lest the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged thirty-nine persons from on board the Centurion, and eighteen from the Gloucester, the greatest part of them Spaniards, the rest Indians and sick negroes: But as our crews were very weak, we kept the mulattoes and some of the stoutest of the negroes, with a few Indians, to assist us; but we dismissed every Spanish prisoner whatever. We have since learnt, that these two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated; and that the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to the commodore's letter, and had attended it with a present of two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions which were to be got at Acapulco; but that these boats not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions overboard in a storm which threatened their destruction.

The sending away our prisoners was our last transaction on the American coast; for no sooner had we parted with them, than we and the Gloucester made sail to the S. W., proposing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped, in a few days, to meet with the regular trade-wind, which the accounts of former navigators had represented as much brisker and steadier in this ocean, than in any other part

part of the globe: For it has been esteemed no uncommon passage to run from hence to the eastermost parts of Asia in two months; and we flattered ourselves that we were as capable of making an expeditious passage as any ships that had ever run this course before us; so that we hoped soon to gain the coast of China, for which we were now bound. And conformable to the general idea of this navigation given by former voyagers, we considered it as free from all kinds of embarrassment of bad weather, fatigue, or sickness; and consequently we undertook it with alacrity, especially as it was no contemptible step towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus, on the 6th of May, we, for the last time, lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, persuaded, that in a few weeks we should arrive at the river of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many English ships, and numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable, well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgences of a civilized life, which for near twenty months had never been once in our power.

[It is judged advisable to omit altogether the next section of the original, as occupied by mere reckoning on the advantages "which might have been expected from the squadron, had it arrived in the South Seas in good time." They are in part specified at the beginning.]

Section XXIV.

The Run from the Coast of Mexico to the Ladrones or Marian Islands.

When we left the coast of America, we stood to the S. W. with a view of meeting with the N. E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers made us expect at seventy or eighty leagues distance from the land: We had another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13° or 14° north; that being the parallel where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest: This last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the south. At the same time we

were also farther from the shore, than we had presumed was necessary for the falling in with the trade-wind : But in this particular we were most grievously disappointed ; for the wind still continued to the westward, or at best variable. As the getting into the N. E. trade-wind, was to us a matter of the last consequence, we stood more to the southward, and made many experiments to meet with it ; but it was seven weeks, from our leaving the coast, before we got into it. This was an interval, in which we believed we should well nigh have reached the eastermost parts of Asia : But we were so baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth part of the way. The delay alone would have been a sufficient mortification ; but there were other circumstances attending it, which rendered this situation not less terrible, and our apprehensions perhaps still greater than in any of our past distresses. For our two ships were by this time extremely crazy ; and many days had not passed, before we discovered a spring in the fore-mast of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at least four inches deep : And no sooner had our carpenters secured this with fishing it, but the Gloucester made a signal of distress ; and we learnt that she had a dangerous spring in her main-mast, twelve feet below the trussel-trees ; so that she could not carry any sail upon it. Our carpenters, on a strict examination of this mast, found it so very rotten and decayed, that they judged it necessary to cut it down as low as it appeared to have been injured ; and by this it was reduced to nothing but a stump, which served only as a step to the topmast. These accidents augmented our delay, and occasioned us great anxiety about our future security : For on our leaving the coast of Mexico, the scurvy had begun to make its appearance again amongst our people ; though from our departure from Juan Fernandes we had till then enjoyed a most uninterrupted state of health. We too well knew the effects of this disease, from our former fatal experience, to suppose that any thing but a speedy passage could secure the greater part of our crew from perishing by it : And as, after being seven weeks at sea, there did not appear any reasons that could persuade us we were nearer the trade-wind than when we first set out, there was no ground for us to suppose but our passage would prove at least three

times

times as long as we at first expected ; and consequently we had the melancholy prospect, either of dying by the scurvy, or perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, some amongst us were at first willing to believe, that in this warm climate, so different from what we felt in passing round Cape Horn, the violence of this disease, and its fatality, might be in some degree mitigated ; as it had not been unusual to suppose that its particular virulence in that passage was in a great measure owing to the severity of the weather ; but the havock of the distemper, in our present circumstances, soon convinced us of the falsity of this speculation ; as it likewise exploded some other opinions, which usually pass current about the cause and nature of this disease.[1]

Our surgeon (who, during our passage round Cape Horn, had ascribed the mortality we suffered to the severity of the climate) exerted himself in the present run to the utmost, and at last declared, that all his measures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the least avail his patients. When we reached the trade-wind, and it settled between the north and the east, yet it seldom blew with so much strength, but the Centurion might have carried all her small sails abroad with the greatest safety ; so that now, had we been a single ship, we might have run down our longitude apace, and have reached the Ladrones soon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards perished. But the Gloucester, by the loss of her main-mast, sailed so very heavily, that we had seldom any more than our top-sails set, and yet were frequently obliged to lie-to for her : And, I conceive, that in the whole we lost little less than a month by our attendance upon her, in consequence of the various mischances she encountered. In all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together, without seeing great numbers of birds ; which is a proof that there are many islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along, at no very considerable distance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in a Spanish chart ; but the frequency of the birds seems to evince, that there are many more than have been hitherto discovered : For the greatest part of the birds we observed were such as are known to roost on shore ;

[1] Some remarks respecting the nature and treatment of this disease are now given in the original, but being imperfect and conjectural, are omitted here.—E.

shore; and the manner of their appearance sufficiently made out, that they came from some distant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; for we never saw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we supposed was occasioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation, from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues distant from the Ladrones, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Gloucester: For in one part of these four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means the Gloucester's forecap split, and her top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the slings. As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were obliged, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were taken from the business of our own ship, and were employed for eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester in repairing her damages: But these things, mortifying as we thought them, were but the beginning of our disasters; for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm in the western board, which obliged us to lie to. In the beginning of this storm our ship sprung a leak, and let in so much water, that all our people, officers included, were employed continually in working the pumps: And the next day we had the vexation to see the Gloucester, with her top-mast once more by the board; and whilst we were viewing her with great concern for this new distress, we saw her main-top mast, which had hitherto served as a jury main-mast, share the same fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without resource; for we knew the Gloucester's crew were so few and feeble, that without our assistance they could not be relieved: And our sick were now so far increased, and those that remained in health so continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impossible

ble for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprized of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for when the storm abated, (which during its continuance prevented all communication with them) the Gloucester bore up under our stern; and Captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that besides the loss of his masts, which was all that had appeared to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept constantly at the pump for the last twenty-four hours.

This last circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance; which captain Mitchel begged the commodore to send him: But the debility of our people, and our own immediate preservation, rendered it impossible for the commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular condition of the ship; and it was soon suspected that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying her, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, for the security of their lives and our own.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Captain Mitchel and all his officers; by which it appeared, that she had sprung a leak by the stern-post being loose, and working with every roll of the ship, and by two beams a midships being broken in the orlope; no part of which the carpenters reported was possible to be repaired at sea: That both officers and men had worked twenty-four hours at the pump without intermission, and were at length so fatigued, that they could continue their labour no longer; but had been forced to desist, with seven feet of water in the hold, which covered their cask, so that they could neither come at fresh water, nor provision: That they had no mast standing, except the fore-mast, the mizen-mast, and the mizen top-mast, nor had they any spare masts to get up in the room of those they had lost: That the ship was besides extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all worked quite loose, and her upper works in general were so loose, that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down: And that her crew was greatly reduced, for there remained alive on board her no more than seventy-seven men,

men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, officers included; and that of this whole number, only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm.

The commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in immediate want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the strictest enquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, that there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ship should not employ any part of them. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken was, the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and getting out of her as much as was possible before she was destroyed. And therefore the commodore immediately sent an order to Captain Mitchel, as the weather was now calm and favourable, to send his people on board the Centurion as expeditiously as he could; and to take out such stores as he could get at, whilst the ship could be kept above water. And as our leak required less attention, whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats with as many men as we could spare, to Captain Mitchel's assistance.

The removing the Gloucester's people on board us, and the getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr Anson was extremely desirous to have gotten two of her cables and an anchor, but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize-money, which the Gloucester had taken in the South-Seas, was secured, and sent on board the Centurion: However, the prize-goods on board her, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, and were principally the Centurion's property, were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt-water. Their sick men, amounting

to

to near seventy, were removed into boats with as much care as the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of August, in the evening, before the Gloucester was cleared of every thing that was proposed to be removed; and though the hold was now almost full of water, yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time, if the calm should continue, and the water become smooth, she was set on fire; for we knew not how near we might now be to the island of Guam, which was in the possession of our enemies, and the wreck of such a ship would have been to them no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, Captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: And we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had now only a light breeze) that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately burnt, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing successively, as the flames reached them. And it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height.

Thus perished his majesty's ship the Gloucester. And now it might have been expected, that, being freed from the embarrassments which her frequent disasters had involved us in, we would proceed on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done, especially as we had received some small addition to our strength, by the taking on board the Gloucester's crew; but our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; for, notwithstanding all that we had hitherto suffered, there remained much greater distresses, which we were still to struggle with. For the late storm, which had proved so fatal to the Gloucester, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us still a degree or two farther, so that we were now in 17° ¾ of north latitude, instead of being in 13° ½, which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam: And as it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we

were

were to the meridian of the Ladrones, and supposed ourselves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them: In this case, the only land we could make would be some of the eastern parts of Asia, where, if we could arrive, we should find the western monsoon in its full force, so that it would be impossible for the stoutest best-manned ship to get in. And this coast being removed between four and five hundred leagues farther, we, in our languishing circumstances, could expect no other than to be destroyed by the scurvy, long before the most favourable gale could carry us to such a distance: For our deaths were now extremely alarming, no day passing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of our men; and those, who had hitherto continued healthy, began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the use we could of the present calm, by employing our carpenters in searching after the leak, which was now considerable, notwithstanding the little wind we had: The carpenters at length discovered it to be in the gunner's fore store-room, where the water rushed in under the breast-hook, on each side of the stem; but though they found where it was, they agreed that it was impossible to stop it, till we should get into port, and till they could come at it on the outside: However, they did the best they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a considerable relief to us.

We had hitherto considered the calm which succeeded the storm, and which continued for some days, as a very great misfortune; since the currents were driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby risqued the missing of the Ladrones, which we now conceived ourselves to be very near. But when a gale sprung up, our condition was still worse; for it blew from the S.W. and consequently was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer: And though it soon veered to the N.E. yet this served only to tantalize us, for it returned back again in a very short time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of August we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted; and had set us to the southward: And the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board: This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this an universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again:

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The nearest of these islands we afterwards found to be Anatacan; we judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length: The other was the island of Serigan; and had rather the appearance of a high rock, than a place we could hope to anchor at. We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where we expected to meet with anchoring-ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick: But the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly; however, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward, that we were in view of a third island, which was that of Paxaros, though marked in the chart only as a rock. This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without seeing it: And now at noon, being within four miles of the island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring-ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we should receive: For the other two islands were obviously enough incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ship to anchor, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all, except one small spot, not less than fifty fathom in depth; that on that spot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the shore; and that the bank was steep, and could not be depended on: They farther told us, that they had landed on the island, but with some difficulty, on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of cane, or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

This account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island, occasioned a general melancholy on board; for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction; and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; for, as we were plying under top-sails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved

squally,

squally, and blew so strong off shore, as to drive us so far to the southward, that we dared not to send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance, that could secure the few that remained alive from perishing, was the accidental falling in with some other of the Ladrone islands, better prepared for our accommodation; and as our knowledge of these islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian, and we had conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward, as the most probable means of falling in with the next. Thus, with the most gloomy persuasion of our approaching destruction, we stood from the island of Anatacon, having all of us the strongest apprehensions (and those not ill founded) either of dying of the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a short time be expected to founder.

Section XXV.

Our Arrival at Tinian, and an Account of the Island, and of our Proceedings there, till the Centurion drove out to Sea.

It was the 26th of August, 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of Anatacan. The next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three, but had so much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet next day, at day-break, we were at least five leagues distant from it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian aud Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security, and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship; we therefore mustered

tered all our hands, who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape-shot; and, that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands, we showed Spanish colours, and hoisted a red flag at the fore-top-mast-head, to give our ship the appearance of the Manilla galleon, hoping thereby to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and standing towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in shore, to find out a proper birth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa came off the shore to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manilla ship. As we saw the cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa. The Spaniard was immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian, and his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our present defenceless condition, was an advantage not to be despised, especially as it wanted but few of the conveniences that could be expected in the most cultivated country; for he assured us, that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa-nuts in great plenty, besides a fruit peculiar to these islands (called by Dampier, Bread-fruit); that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison; that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, and was sent here with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a small bark of about fifteen tun, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received by us with inexpressible joy: Part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island; and we did not any ways doubt the rest of his relation,

lation, as the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved, and our diseased recovered, but that, amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone: For the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus (an event not unlike what we had already seen) we were forced upon the most desirable and salutary measures by accidents, which at first sight we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our course (a circumstance which at that time gave us the most terrible apprehensions) we should, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful island, and consequently we should have missed of that place, where alone all our wants could be most amply relieved, our sick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to put again to sea.

The Spanish serjeant, from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, who doubtless would have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately dispatched the pinnace to secure the bark, which the serjeant told us was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom; and though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails: It is true, we were somewhat

what weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace having been sent on shore; but it is not less true, that, including those absent with the boats and some negro and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which number too were incapable of duty; but on the greatest emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our present enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Gloucester, and the Tryal, which, when we departed from England, consisted altogether of near a thousand hands.

When we had furled our sails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repose, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was sent on shore well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing place, as we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island: We landed without difficulty, for the Indians having perceived, by our seizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of these huts which the Indians made use of for a storehouse was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef, which we found in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who as soon as the place was ready to receive them were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight: Numbers of these were so very helpless that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged without distinction; and, notwithstanding the great debility and the dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceeding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more during our whole two months stay here; and in general, our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's

week's time, there were but few who were not so far recovered, as to be able to move about without help.[2]

Whilst we were employed in the removal of our sick on shore, four of the Indians, being part of the Spanish serjeant's detachment, came and surrendered themselves to us, so that with those we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four, who submitted, undertook to show us the most convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service; but one of them unwarily trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods: His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to send one of their own party into the country, who they engaged should both bring back the arms, and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The commodore granted their request; and one of them was dispatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us, he had met with them in a path-way in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: This report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on, and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to return any more on shore.

When our sick were well settled on the island, we employed all the hands that could be spared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, several fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded: And this being completed, our next attention was our leak, and in order to raise it out of water, we, on the first of September, began to get the guns aft to bring the ship by the stern; and now the carpenters, being able to come at it on the outside, ripped off the old sheathing that was left, and caulked all the seams on both sides the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new-sheathed the bows to the surface of the water: By this means we conceived the defect was sufficiently secured;

[2] The description of this beautiful island, and its most desirable productions, is deferred till we come to the voyage of Commodore Byron, who visited it in 1765.—E.

secured; but upon our beginning to bring the guns into their places, we had the mortification to perceive, that the water rushed into the ship in the old place, with as much violence as ever: Hereupon we were necessitated to begin again; and that our second attempt might be more effectual, we cleared the fore store-room, and sent a hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the small Spanish bark we had seized here, by which means we raised the ship about three feet out of the water forwards, and the carpenters ripped off the sheathing lower down, and new caulked all the seams, and afterwards laid on new sheathing; and then, supposing the leak to be effectually stopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upper deck guns were scarcely in their places, when, to our amazement, it burst out again; and now, as we durst not cut away the lining within board, lest a but-end or a plank might start, and we might go down immediately, we had no other resource left than chincing and caulking within board; and indeed by this means the leak was stopped for some time; but when our guns were all in their places, and our stores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the stem, where one of the bolts was driven in; and on this we desisted from all farther efforts, being now well assured, that the defect was in the stem itself, and that it was not to be remedied till we should have an opportunity of heaving down.

Towards the middle of September, several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and, on the 12th of September, all those who were so far relieved, since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship: And then the commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days for the recovery of his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place, where his tent was pitched on this occasion, was near the well, whence we got all our water, and was indeed a most elegant spot.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island, we began to send our cask on shore to be fitted up, which till now could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise

likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; and they were besides cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the service, with a good rounding of a 4½ inch hawser; and to all these precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore-yard close down, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power upon the ship, to make her ride a strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of September, and riding safe that and the three succeeding days, (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain) we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm; and therefore we should have been extremely glad that the commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board with us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea; but all communication with the shore was now effectually cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out, till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased; but notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity, as to prevail over it; for the tide having set to the northward in the beginning of the storm, turned suddenly to the southward about six in the evening, and forced the ship before it in despight of the storm, which blew upon the beam: And now the sea broke most surprisingly all round us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us; the long-boat, which was at this time moored a-stern, was on a sudden canted so high, that it broke the transom of the commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the tafferel, had it not been for this stroke which stove the boat all to pieces;

but

but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate; so that at eleven, the best bower-cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our sheet-anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two-thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathom of line: This was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us. In this pressing danger, Mr Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the commodore of our distress; and in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us, on the island, Mr Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to an hundred and thirteen persons. Thus were we all, both at sea and on shore, reduced to the utmost despair by this catastrophe, those on shore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the island, and we on board utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of the seas and winds we were now exposed to, and expecting each moment to be our last.

SECTION XXVI.

Transactions at Tinian after the Departure of the Centurion.

THE storm, which drove the Centurion to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the commodore or any of the people on shore hearing the guns, which she fired as signals of distress; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed: So that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them: For much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and entreated the commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look

look for the wreck; and those who believed her safe, had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again: For the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they knew how poorly she was manned and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. And if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared no possibility of their ever getting off the island: For they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port; and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark, of about fifteen tun, which they seized at their first arrival, and which would not even hold a fourth part of their number: And the chance of their being taken off the island by the casual arrival of any ship was altogether desperate; as perhaps no European ship had ever anchored here before, and it were madness to expect that like incidents should send another in an hundred ages to come: So that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on this island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments.

Nor was this the worst they had to fear: For they had reason to expect, that the governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their situation, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island; and then, the most favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained prisoners for life; since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be expected, that the governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr Anson had his share of disquietude; but he kept up his usual composure and steadiness: And having soon projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent; and being satisfied that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view he represented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the Centurion's being lost: That he should have

have hoped, they had been all of them better acquainted with sea-affairs, than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright; and that he doubted not, if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess that there was not the least probability of her having perished: That he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days; but if she did not, the worst that could be supposed was, that she was driven so far to the leeward of the island that she could not regain it, and that she would consequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coast of China: That as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the island, and joining their old ship the Centurion again at Macao: That this method was to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty tun burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to China: That he had consulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feasible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, but the united resolution and industry of the whole body: He added, that, for his own part, he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he himself was ready to submit to; he concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time; and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was necessary to set to work immediately, and to take it for granted, that the Centurion would not be able to put back (which was indeed the commodore's secret opinion;) since, if she did return, they should only throw away a few days application; but, if she did not, their situation, and the season of the year, required their utmost dispatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate so powerfully as Mr Anson wished: He indeed raised their spirits, by showing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired; but then, from their confidence of this resource, they grew less apprehensive of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the Centurion would return and prevent the execution of the commodore's scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour. By this means, it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but

but at last, being in general convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they set themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their commander could desire, punctually assembling at day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

And here I must interrupt the course of this transaction for a moment, to relate an incident which for some time gave Mr Anson more concern than all the preceding disasters. A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, A sail. This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning; but presently a second sail was descried, which quite destroyed their conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without speaking to any one) instantly to retire to his tent, where he past some bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of farther distressing the enemy, and of still signalizing his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end.

But he was soon relieved from these disturbing thoughts, by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas, and, perceiving that they stood towards the shore, he directed every appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, prepared to secure the Indians when they should land; but, after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they suddenly stopt short, and remaining there motionless for near two hours, they then made sail again, and stood to the southward.—To return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where

where all the necessary materials and tools were to be had, the embarrassment would have been much less; but some of these tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiences. And when the hull of the bark should be completed, this was but one article; and there were many others of equal weight, which were to be well considered: These were the rigging it, the victualling it, and, lastly, the navigating it, for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before. In some of these particulars such obstacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the possibility of the whole enterprise would have fallen to the ground, and their utmost industry and efforts must have been fruitless. Of all these circumstances I shall make a short recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Gloucester and of the Tryal, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the smith, too, was on shore, and had with him his forge and some tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board, so that he was incapable of working, and without his assistance they could not hope to proceed with their design; their first attention, therefore, was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for some time puzzled, by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in sufficient plenty, and they had found a hogshead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use, they tanned some hides with this lime; and though we may suppose the workmanship to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus made served tolerably well, and the bellows (to which a gun-barrel served for a pipe) had no other inconvenience than that of being somewhat strong-scented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilst the smith was preparing the necessary iron work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into plank, and this being the most laborious task, the commodore himself wrought at it for the encouragement of his people. As there were neither blocks nor cordage sufficient for tackles to hale the bark on shore, it was proposed to get her up on rollers; and for these the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely useful, for its smooth-

ness

ness and circular turn prevented much labour, and fitted it for the purpose with very little workmanship; many of these trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the reception of hand-spikes; and in the mean time a dry dock was dug for the bark, and ways laid from thence quite into the sea to facilitate the bringing her up. Besides those who were thus occupied in preparing measures for the future enlargement of the bark, a party was constantly ordered for the killing and preparing of provisions for the rest: And though in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay, yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men, I presume, were not the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors; for, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their constant drink, and this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very cool and orderly.

And now the officers began to consider of all the articles necessary for the fitting out the bark; when it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well, when she was lengthened. As they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was well adapted to that purpose; so that with respect to her equipment, she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size; for as they could not make her quite forty tun burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and must have been so top-heavy, that if they were all at the same time on deck, there would be no small hazard of her oversetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what course to take; for they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, their bread-fruit, which would not keep

keep at sea, having all along supplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing, but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they should have on board. It was at last, however, resolved to take on board as many cocoa-nuts as they possibly could; to make the most of their jerked beef, by a very sparing distribution of it, and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice; to furnish themselves with which, it was proposed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the island of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: But as this last measure was to be executed by force, it became necessary to examine what ammunition had been left on shore, and to preserve it carefully; and on this enquiry, they had the mortification to find, that the utmost that could be collected, by the strictest search, did not amount to more than ninety charges of powder for their firelocks, which was considerably short of one a-piece for each of the company, and was indeed a very slender stock of ammunition, for such as were to eat no grain or bread for a month, but what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the most alarming circumstance, and what, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, had rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the vessel was settled in a few days, and when this was done, it was not difficult to make some estimation of the time necessary to complete her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would consider on the course they were to steer, and the land they were to make. These reflections led them to the disheartening discovery, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island. Indeed, the commodore had brought a pocket compass on shore for his own use, but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the position of the neighbouring islands, and he had been driven to sea in the Centurion, without returning it; and as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on shore, for as it was of no use at land, there could be no rea-

son for bringing it from on board the ship. It was eight days, from the departure of the Centurion, before they were relieved from this terrible perplexity: At last, in rummaging a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they found a small compass, which, though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an invaluable treasure. And a few days after, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber belonging to the dead: The quadrant was eagerly seized, but it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore, in its present state, was altogether useless; however, fortune still continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a person, out of curiosity, pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on shore, found some vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and found to answer to a sufficient degree of exactness.

All these obstacles being in some degree removed (which were always as much as possible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiss with the apprehension of labouring to no purpose,) the work proceeded very successfully and vigorously: The necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the most exquisite performances of the sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose,) were all prepared; so that on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ship, they haled the bark on shore, and, on the two succeeding days, she was sawn asunder (though with great care not to cut her planks,) and her two parts were separated the proper distance from each other, and, the materials being all ready before-hand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with great dispatch in their proposed enlargement of her; and by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place,

ing-place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with extacy, The ship, the ship! This being heard by Mr Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr Gordon ran towards the place where the commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath, easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and got before him to the commodore, who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved; the others, who were with him, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she, the next afternoon, happily came to an anchor in the road, when the commodore immediately went on board, and was received with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations: For, from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues we in the ship underwent during our nineteen days absence from Tinian, it may be easily conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our commander and shipmates, were not less pleasing to us than our return was to them.

Section XXVII.

Account of the Proceedings on board the Centurion when driven out to Sea.

The Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprised of the fatigues and distresses to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. Our condition was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrowds were loose, and our top-masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main-yards close down, before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board to navigate the ship, than an hundred and eight hands, several negroes and Indians included: This was scarcely the fourth part of our complement, and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all: But though this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction, yet we had other dangers then impending, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this instant peril; we therefore immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring, by the utmost of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvass, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable: For we imagined ourselves by this time to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark, that we expected to discover the island no otherwise than by striking upon

it;

it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occásioned us to pass several hours under the most serious apprehensions, that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors of instantly striking and sinking end but with the day-break, when we, with great transport, perceived that the island we had thus dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian, did not begin to abate till three days after; and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; for it must be remembered, that in these exigences no rank or office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor. The business of this day was no less than an attempt to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation: For, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ship, if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left; and, without securing it, we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards, whenever we made the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprized of the consequence of this enterprize, we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight; but, it then growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's rest, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus secured our anchor: And the same day we got up our main-yard: And having now conquered in some degree the distress and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvass,

vass, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, and joining our commodore in a few days: For we were then, by our accounts, only forty-seven leagues to the south-west of Tinian; so that on the first day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us to the westward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and consequently how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water might prove deficient; for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our casks so decayed, as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day by having a sight of the island of Guam, by which we discovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. This sight of land having satisfied us of our situation, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour, for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew were so weak, that, without the assistance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ship about: This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when, arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, as hath been already mentioned; and on the evening of the same day, to our inexpressible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our shipmates on shore, as well as to ourselves, a cessation from the fatigues and apprehensions which this disastrous incident had given rise to.

SECTION XXVIII.

Of our Employment at Tinian, till the final Departure of the Centurion, and of the Voyage to Macao.[1]

THE commodore resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to complete our stock of water,

[1] The original contains also a description of the Ladrones (or Marian Islands, as they are now usually called,) which, for a reason before mentioned, is omitted.

ter, a work which we immediately set ourselves about. But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop when we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniences in getting our water on board: For we were obliged to raft off all our cask, and the tide ran so strong, that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring provisions: These had with them our two cutters; but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them; and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were employed in killing cattle in the wood, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, were left behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival, we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis: For those we had left on shore began to despair of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind informed us, that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but, on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away, and

and were presently out of sight. And, on this occasion, I must mention an incident, which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It hath been already observed, that a part of the detachment, sent to this island under the command of the Spanish serjeant, lay concealed in the woods; and we were the less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us, that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea, and left the commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island: In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket, which, by observing more nicely, they found had a progressive motion: This at first surprised them; but they soon discovered, that it was no more than several large cocoa bushes, which were dragged along the ground, by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the serjeant's party (which was indeed true); and therefore the commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of finding out their retreat. The Indians soon perceived they were discovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it down a precipice contrived for the conveniency of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted spare-ribs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people saw here, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite, which they had found at this island, was not confined to themselves; for, it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced, that, with them too, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The commodore having in vain endeavoured to discover the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their present appe-

tites;

tites; after which, they returned back to their old habitation, displeased at missing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our service, if they could have had any conference with them. But, notwithstanding what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured, that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, completed it to fifty tun, which we supposed would be sufficient for our passage to Macao, we, on the next day, sent one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island, as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and mess-mates, when at sea. And, these purveyors returning on board us on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away for the south-end of the island of Formosa, and taking our leaves, for the third and last time, of the island of Tinian: An island, which, whether we consider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthiness of its air, or the adventures it gave rise to, may in all these views be truly styled romantic.

[After the description, certainly a very imperfect one, of the Ladrones, which now follows, the author gives a curious account of the proas or prows so much used among them. This is extracted, as likely to interest the reader, and as more satisfactory, than the brief notice already given in the history of Magellan's voyage. This account is more deserving of regard, as being drawn up from very particular examination of one of the vessels taken, as has been mentioned, at Tinian.]

The Indians that inhabit the Ladrones, of which Tinian (formerly well peopled) is one, are a bold, well-limbed people; and it should seem from some of their practices, that they are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proa in particular, which has been for ages the only vessel used by them, is so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. Whether we consider its aptitude to the particular

particular navigation of these islands, or the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilized nations, where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished.

The name of flying proa given to these vessels, is owing to the swiftness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards assert such stories, as appear altogether incredible to those who have never seen these vessels move; nor are the Spaniards the only people who relate these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to enquire at the dock at Portsmouth, about a trial made there some years since, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have given. However, from some rude estimations made, by our people, of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, whilst we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing that with a brisk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour: Which, though greatly short of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of swiftness.

The construction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of the rest of mankind. For as the rest of the world make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike, the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different; the side, intended to be always the lee-side, being flat; and the windward-side made rounding, in the manner of other vessels: And, to prevent her oversetting, which from her small breadth, and the straight run of her leeward-side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow: The weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is made of two pieces joined end-ways, and sowed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her: She is about two inches

thick

thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one.[2]

The proa generally carries six or seven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and stern, who steer the vessel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman; the other Indians are employed either in baling out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail. From the description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious, how dexterously they are fitted for ranging this collection of islands called the Ladrones: For as these islands lie nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatness of their lee-side, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known.

The eastern monsoon was now, we reckoned, fairly settled; and we had a constant gale blowing right upon our stern: So that we generally run from forty to fifty leagues a-day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much; whence we received great damage in our rigging, which was grown very rotten, and our leak was augmented: But, happily for us, our people were now in full health; so that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Having no other but our sheet-anchor left, except our prize-anchors, which were stowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we were under great concern how we should manage on the coast of China, where we were all entire strangers, and where we should doubtless be frequently under the necessity of coming to an anchor. Our sheet-anchor being much too heavy for a coasting anchor, it was at length resolved to fix two of our largest prize-anchors into one stock, and to place between their shanks two guns, four pounders, which was accordingly executed, and it was to

[2] The author refers to a plate for a minute description, which is necessarily omitted.—E.

to serve as a best bower: And a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined with our stream-anchor, with guns between them, we thereby made a small bower; so that, besides our sheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be the island of Botel Tobago Xima: But on nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented; and about an hour after we saw another island, five or six miles farther to the westward. As no chart, nor any journal we had seen, took notice of any other island to the eastward of Formosa, than Botel Tobago Xima, and as we had no observation of our latitude at noon, we were in some perplexity, being apprehensive that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Bashee islands; and therefore, when night came on, we brought to, and continued in this posture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy, for some time prolonged our uncertainty; but it cleared up about nine o'clock, when we again discerned the two islands above-mentioned; we then prest forwards to the westward, and by eleven got a sight of the southern part of the island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the first a small island or rock, lying five or six miles due east from it, which, not being mentioned by any of our books or charts, was the occasion of our fears.[3]

When we got sight of the island of Formosa, we steered W. by S. in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not see till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W.N.W. three miles distant, the south end of Formosa at the same time bearing N. by W. ½ W. about five leagues distant. To give these rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W. and so left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reason to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ship's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all sides, and there is a shoal stretching from them at least a mile and a half to the southward, whence they may be truly called dangerous.

[3] These two islands are marked in Arrowsmith's map of Asia, under the names of Bottle Tobago and Little Bottle Tobago.—E.

gerous. The course from Botel Tobago Xima to these rocks is S. W. by W. and the distance about twelve or thirteen leagues: And the south end of Formosa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21° 50′ north, and in 23° 50′ west longitude from Tinian, according to our most approved reckonings, though by some of our accounts above a degree more.

While we were passing by these rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outcry of fire on the fore-castle; this occasioned a general alarm, and the whole crew instantly flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that the officers found it difficult for some time to appease the uproar: But having at last reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace; and, pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguished with great facility, for it had taken its rise from the bricks, which, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work. In the evening we were surprised with a view of what we at first sight conceived to have been breakers, but, on a stricter examination, we found them to be only a great number of fires on the island of Formosa. These, we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that island as signals for us to touch there, but that suited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as soon as possible. From Formosa we steered W. N. W. and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco; for the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao. We continued this course till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in soundings: But it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of grey sand mixed with shells. When we had got about twenty miles farther W. N. W. we had thirty-five fathom, and the same bottom, from whence our sounding gradually decreased from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom; but soon after, to our great surprise, they jumped back again to thirty fathom: This was an alteration we could not very well account for,[4] since all the charts laid down regular soundings every-where to the northward

[4] It was probably occasioned by their being over a sand bank, which is laid down by Arrowsmith in this part of the Centurion's course.—E.

northward of Pedro Blanco; and for this reason we kept a very careful look-out, and altered our course to N. N. W. and having run thirty-five miles in this direction, our soundings again gradually diminished to twenty-two fathom, and we at last, about mid-night, got sight of the main land of China, bearing N. by W. four leagues distant: We then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sun-rise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. I may well style their number incredible, since I cannot believe, upon the lowest estimate, that there were fewer than six thousand, most of them manned with five hands, and none with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing-vessels peculiar to this spot; for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them by showing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I presume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, for we could have no communication with them but by signs: Indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reason to suppose they understood in a different sense; for in return they sometimes held up fish to us, and we afterwards learnt, that the Chinese name for fish is of a somewhat similar sound. But what surprised us most, was the inattention and want of curiosity, which we observed in this herd of fishermen: A ship like ours had doubtless never been in those seas before; perhaps, there might not be one, amongst all the Chinese employed in this fishery, who had ever seen any European vessel; so that we might reasonably have expected to have been considered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object; but though many of their vessels came close to the ship, yet they did not appear to be at all interested about us, nor did they deviate in the least from their course to regard us; which insensibility, especially in maritime persons, about a matter in their own profession, is scarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chinese, in other instances

instances, furnish us with continual proofs of a similar turn of mind: It may perhaps be doubted, whether this cast of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either case, it is an incontestable symptom of a mean and contemptible disposition, and is alone a sufficient confutation of the extravagant panegyrics, which many hypothetical writers have bestowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation.[5]

Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was 22° 42′ north, and from our soundings, which were only seventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, we stood to the westward: And, for the assistance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt about the parts of the coast they are upon, I must observe, that, besides the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22° 18′, and the depth of water, which to the westward of that rock is almost every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumstance which will give great assistance in judging of the position of the ship: This is, the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had constantly a sandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to soft and muddy, and continued so quite to the island of Macao; only while we were in sight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had for a short space a bottom of greenish mud, intermixed with sand.

On the fifth of November, at midnight, we made the coast of China; and the next day, about two o'clock, as we were standing to the westward within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded by fishing vessels in as great numbers as at first, we perceived that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn: This we considered as a signal made to us, either to warn us of some shoal, or to inform us that they would supply us with a pilot, and in this belief we immediately sent our cutter to the boat, to know their intentions,

[5] Neither the ingenuity nor the capacity of the Chinese is at all implicated by the circumstances recorded, the source of which may be probably enough conjectured, viz. their contempt of every thing foreign, which, it is well known, they never scruple to avow. Besides, as is very soon mentioned, their fishermen were under authority, and had received no orders or permission to the effect desired.—E.

intentions; but we were soon made sensible of our mistake, and found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal she had made, was to order them all to leave off fishing, and to return in shore, which we saw them instantly obey. On this disappointment we kept on our course, and soon after passed by two very small rocks, which lay four or five miles distant from the shore; but night came on before we got sight of Pedro Blanco, and we therefore brought-to till the morning, when we had the satisfaction to discover it. It is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, and, both in shape and colour, resembles a sugar-loaf, and is about seven or eight miles from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breast of a chain of islands, which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the islands of Lema;[6] they are rocky and barren, and are in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; and there are, besides, a great number of other islands between them and the main land of China. These islands we left on the starboard side, passing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathom water. We were still surrounded by fishing-boats; and we once more sent the cutter on board one of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but could not prevail; however, one of the Chinese directed us by signs to sail round the westermost of the islands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom.

On the 9th, at four in the morning, we sent our cutter to sound the channel, where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the cutter, a Chinese pilot put on board us, and told us, in broken Portuguese, he would carry us to Macao for thirty dollars: These were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail; and soon after, several other pilots came on board us, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of several ships they had piloted in, but we continued the ship under the management of the Chinese who came first on board. By this time we learnt, that we were not far distant from Macao,

[6] Called Grand Lema in Arrowsmith's map, and touched at by the Lion in 1793.—E.

Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English. Our pilot carried us between the islands of Bamboo and Cabouce, but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathom; and as we still steered on N. W. ½ W. between a number of other islands, our soundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increased to seventeen fathom; in which depth (the wind dying away) we anchored not far from the island of Lantoon, which is the largest of all this range of islands. At seven in the morning we weighed again, and steering W. S. W. and S. W. by W., we at ten o'clock happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bearing W. by N., three leagues distant; the peak of Lantoon E. by N., and the grand Ladrone S. by E. each of them about five leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years continuance, we once more arrived in an amicable port, in a civilized country; where the conveniences of life were in great plenty; where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured; where we expected the inexpressible satisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of answering the numerous enquiries we were prepared to make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be listened to by us with the utmost attention, after the long suspension of our correspondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto subjected us.

Section XXIX.

Proceedings at Macao.

The city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portuguese settlement,

ment, situated in an island at the mouth of the river of Canton. It was formerly a very rich and populous city, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese governors: But at present it is much fallen from its ancient splendour; for though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and has a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the sufferance of the Chinese, who can starve the place, and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please: This obliges the governor of Macao to behave with great circumspection, and carefully to avoid every circumstance that may give offence to the Chinese.[7] The

[7] This circumspection has never availed much. The Portuguese obtained this port and the adjoining territory of about 8 miles in circuit, as a reward for assistance given in extirpating a pirate who took refuge here. But the ingratitude of the Chinese always grudged, and often violated, the immunities thus won from their fears. The city, built after the European model, and originally possessed of both military strength and commercial consequence, has, through the carelessness of the Portuguese, and the exactions and insolence of their neighbours, dwindled into comparative insignificance. According to Sir George Staunton's account, the population does not now exceed 12,000, and more than half is Chinese. In short, Macao is virtually a Chinese town, where the Portuguese are merely tolerated. The Chinese, it is certain, require almost any other treatment than condescension and good manners. The reader will soon see in the narrative how practicable it is to reduce them to common sense—one of the ingredients of it they have in a high degree, the desire of self-preservation. The following quotation from a work recently published, may amuse him in the mean time, and serves besides to confirm the statement of the text. "The situation of the Portuguese in Macao is particularly restrained, and that of their governor extremely unpleasant to him. Although the latter invariably conducts himself with the greatest circumspection, cases still arise in which he cannot give way without entirely sacrificing the honour of his country, already greatly diminished in the eyes of the Chinese. A few months only before our arrival (November 1805,) a circumstance happened fully illustrative of this; an account of which may tend to prove that, if the Portuguese possessed greater power at Macao, the cowardly Chinese would not dare to treat them with so little consideration, or, to speak more correctly, with so much contempt. If Macao were in the hands of the English, or even of the Spaniards, the shameful dependence of this possession on the Chinese would soon fall to the ground; and, with the assistance of their important possessions in the vicinity of China, either of these nations established in Macao might bid defiance to the whole empire. A Portuguese resident at Macao stabbed a Chinese, but being rich, he offered the family of the deceased a sum of money to suffer the affair to drop. This was agreed to, and he paid 4000 piastres; scarcely, however, had he given the money, when the affair was represented to the Chinese magistracy, who exacted from the governor that the criminal should be instantly given up. The latter refused, alleging, that, as the deed was committed in Macao, he was liable to the Portuguese law, according to

The river of Canton, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chinese port, frequented by European ships; and this river is indeed a more commodious harbour, on many accounts, than Macao: But the peculiar customs of the Chinese,

which he would be punished if they found him guilty. The Chinese, who wished to inflict punishment on the Portuguese, immediately on the receipt of this answer shut up all their booths, and forbade the importation of provisions into Macao; but the governor, who had two years stock of provisions for his garrison, (we shall find it was otherwise with the governor in Anson's time) troubled himself very little with this threat, and still refused to give up the criminal; in the mean time his trial went on; he was found guilty of the murder, and immediately hanged. The Chinese assembled with the intention of endeavouring to seize the perpetrator of the murder whilst on his way to the scaffold: The governor collected his troops, loaded the artillery on the batteries, and awaited the attack; and, alarmed at his decisive measures, the Chinese withdrew, under the pretence of being perfectly satisfied with the execution of the murderer, and order was immediately restored." The work from which this is extracted is Captain Krusenstern's account of his voyage round the world, in 1803-4-5 and 6; being the first circumnavigation the Russians have made, and that too under the patronage and by the command of the most magnanimous and beneficient Alexander, a monarch whom every friend of humanity must admire and love from the heart, as surpassing even his liberality in the promotion of useful science and discovery amongst his own subjects, by the splendour and substantial value of his services in the best interests of Europe, and the world:

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet *pauperiem* pati,
Pejusque leto flagitium timet;
Non ille pro caris *amicis*
Aut patria timidus perire.

To return to Macao: Captain K. strongly expresses his wish that some European power of sufficient energy and consequence would take possession of it, before the Portuguese themselves abandon it to the Chinese. It is evident he alludes to the English. An agreement, it is very probable, might be readily entered into with the Portuguese for the possession of that place, which could not fail to prove most convenient for our eastern commerce. An equivalent may be found among the West Indian islands; but it is perhaps equally vain and invidious to speculate on such very distant concerns, when the wonderful events now occurring in a kingdom so long the torment and the *teacher* of nations, arrest the imagination from every trivial selfish pursuit, and fix the mind undividedly on the operations of the great source of power, justice, and truth. A new æra commences in the world—May it be remarkable to all succeeding generations for liberal policy, disinterestedness, and general benevolence!—E.

12th April, 1814.

Chinese, only adapted to the entertainment of trading ships, and the apprehensions of the commodore, lest he should embroil the East-India company with the regency of Canton, if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him resolve to go first to Macao, before he ventured into the port of Canton. Indeed, had not this reason prevailed with him, he himself had nothing to fear: For it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleased, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

The commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he dispatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese governor of Macao, requesting his excellency, by the same officer, to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chinese, which, as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty, which the commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty usually paid by all ships in the river of Canton, according to their tunnage. For as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to submit to this duty in China: And therefore he desired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man of war, and consequently might be expected to give us the best lights for avoiding this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers sent by the governor, who informed the commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be demanded; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct us into another safe harbour, called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ship, (an operation we were resolved to begin upon as soon as possible) and where the above-mentioned duty would, in all probability, be never asked for.

This proposal the commodore agreed to, and in the morning we weighed anchor, and, under the direction of the Portuguese

Portuguese pilot, steered for the intended harbour. As we entered two islands, which form the eastern passage to it, we found our soundings decreased to three fathom and a half: But the pilot assuring us that this was the least depth we should meet with, we continued our course, till at length the ship stuck fast in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and, the tide of ebb making, the water sewed to sixteen feet, but the ship remained perfectly upright; we then sounded all round us, and finding the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our small bower with two hawsers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ship afloat, and a small breeze springing up at the same instant, we set the fore top-sail, and, slipping the hawser, ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao. Here we saluted the castle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the commodore paid a visit in person to the governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr Anson's business in this visit was to solicit the governor to grant us a supply of provisions, and to furnish us with such stores as were necessary to refit the ship The governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could, and assured the commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the assistance in his power; but, at the same time, frankly owned that he dared not openly furnish us with any thing we demanded, unless we first procured an order for it from the viceroy of Canton, for that he neither received provisions for his garrison, nor any other necessaries, but by permission from the Chinese government; and as they took care only to furnish him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vassal, whom they could at all times compel to submit to their own terms, only by laying an embargo on his provisions.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr Anson resolved himself to go to Canton to procure a license from the viceroy; and accordingly hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer at Macao, refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The commodore at first endeavoured

deavoured to prevail with the hoppo to withdraw his injunction and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his interest with the hoppo to the same purpose. Mr Anson, finding the officer inflexible, told him the next day, that if he longer refused to grant the permit, he would man and arm his own boats to carry him thither; asking the hoppo, at the same time, who he imagined would dare to oppose him. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had laboured for in vain: The permit was granted, and Mr Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there he consulted with the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the necessaries he wanted; but in this he had reason to suppose, that the advice they gave him, though doubtless well intended, was yet not the most prudent; for as it is the custom with these gentlemen never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to transact all matters relating to the government by the mediation of the principal Chinese merchants, Mr Anson was advised to follow the same method upon this occasion, the English promising (in which they were doubtless sincere) to exert all their interest to engage the merchants in his favour. And when the Chinese merchants were applied to, they readily undertook the management of it, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuses, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing the business, they at last (being pressed, and measures being taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy) threw off the mask, and declared they neither had applied to the viceroy nor could they; for he was too great a man, they said, for them to approach on any occasion. And, not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the commodore, they now used all their persuasion with the English at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him, representing to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occasion them a great deal of unnecessary trouble; which groundless insinuations had indeed but too much weight with those they were applied to.

It may be difficult to assign a reason for this perfidious conduct of the Chinese merchants: Interest indeed is known to exert a boundless influence over the inhabitants of that empire;

empire; but how their interest could be affected in the present case is not easy to discover, unless they apprehended that the presence of a ship of force might damp their Manilla trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the commodore to Batavia: But it might be as natural in this light to suppose, that they would have been eager to have got him dispatched. I, therefore, rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled pusillanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the government; for as such a ship as the Centurion, fitted for war only, had never been seen in those parts before, she was the horror of these dastards, and the merchants were in some degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the viceroy (who is doubtless fond of all opportunities of fleecing them) without representing to themselves the pretences which a hungry and tyrannical magistrate might possibly find, for censuring their intermeddling in so unusual a transaction, in which he might pretend the interest of the state was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the commodore was satisfied that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, as it was on his pressing them to deliver a letter to the viceroy that they had declared they durst not intermeddle, and had confessed, that, notwithstanding all their pretences of serving him, they had not yet taken one step towards it. Mr Anson therefore told them, that he would proceed to Batavia and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done, unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants on this undertook to procure him provisions, but assured him that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but proposed to manage it in a clandestine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other provision, on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail, and these were to stop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants represented as a matter of great favour, being settled, the commodore, on the 16th of December, returned from Canton to the ship, seemingly resolved to proceed to Batavia to refit, as soon as he should get his supplies of provision on board.

But Mr Anson (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-mast was

was sprung in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased; so that, upon the whole, he was fully satisfied, that though he should lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, yet it would be impossible for him to put to sea without refitting: For, if he left the port with his ship in her present condition, she would be in the utmost danger of foundering, and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties he had met with, he resolved at all events to have her hove down before he left Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East India Company's affairs, and the regard he had shown to the advice of their officers, had occasioned all his embarrassments. For he now saw clearly, that if he had at first carried his ship into the river of Canton, and had immediately applied himself to the mandarines, who are the chief officers of state, instead of employing the merchants to apply for him, he would, in all probability, have had all his requests granted, and would have been soon dispatched. He had already lost a month by the wrong measures he had been put upon, but he resolved to lose as little more time as possible; and, therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was commander-in-chief of a squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships of war which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with the king his master; that, in his way back to England, he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ship was repaired, and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted; that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his excellency, but being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply to him in this manner, to desire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, thereby to enable him to pursue his voyage to Great Britain with this monsoon, hoping, at the same time, that these orders would be issued with as little delay as possible, lest

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it might occasion his loss of the season, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the commodore delivered it himself to the hoppo, or chief officer of the emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many difficulties about it, so that Mr Anson suspected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always shown a great apprehension of the commodore's having any immediate intercourse with the viceroy or mandarines; and, therefore, the commodore, with some resentment, took back his letter from the hoppo, and told him he would immediately send an officer with it to Canton in his own boat, and would give him positive orders not to return without an answer from the viceroy. The hoppo, perceiving the commodore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be entrusted with the letter, and promised to deliver it, and to procure an answer as soon as possible. And now it was soon seen how justly Mr Anson had at last judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chinese; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already observed, and on the 19th in the morning, a mandarine of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janson, together with two mandarines of an inferior class, and a great retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half gallies, decorated with a great number of streamers, and furnished with music, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the mandarine sent a message to the commodore, telling him that he (the mandarine) was ordered by the viceroy of Canton to examine the condition of the ship, and desiring the ship's boat might be sent to fetch him on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately dispatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; for a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were uniformly drest in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck on his arrival. When he entered the ship he was saluted by the drums, and what other military music there was on board; and, passing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the mandarine

rine explained his commission, declaring, that his business was to examine all the particulars mentioned in the commodore's letter to the viceroy, and to confront them with the representation that had been given of them; that he was particularly instructed to inspect the leak, and had for that purpose brought with him two Chinese carpenters; and that, for the greater regularity and dispatch of his business, he had every head of enquiry separately wrote down on a sheet of paper, with a void space opposite to it, where he was to insert such information and remarks thereon as he could procure by his own observation.

This mandarine appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the proper enquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been represented, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the mandarine expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive, viewing each part of the ship with particular attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the lower-deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore, observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him a speedy and ample supply of all he wanted: With this view he told the mandarine, and those who were with him, that, besides the demands he made for a general supply, he had a particular complaint against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of fresh provisions for daily use, for which they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, but that the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them, by which means he was deprived of those refreshments which were of the utmost consequence to the health of his men after their long and sickly voyage; that as they, the mandarines, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not for want of power to supply himself, that he desi-

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red the permission of the government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that it was true this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other, but it was likewise true that it was not customary for any nation to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends had money to supply their wants, and only desired liberty to lay it out; that they must confess he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve, but that, as his wants were each day increasing, hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity was acknowledged in all countries to be superior to every other law, and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses. To this the commodore added, (though perhaps with a less serious air,) that if by the delay of supplying him with fresh provisions his men should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen, that, independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well-fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates. The first mandarine acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the commodore that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival a counsel of mandarines would be summoned, of which he himself was a member, and that by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the commodore's advocate; that, as he was fully convinced of the urgency of Mr Anson's necessity, he did not doubt but on his representation the counsel would be of the same opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and speedily granted. And with regard to the commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for, desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the expense of the ship for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morn-

 ing;

ing; and this order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.[8]

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the commodore invited him and his two attendant mandarines to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provisions, either in kind or quantity, were not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr Anson was not apprized of it; this seems to be derived from the India superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for

[8] Captain Krusenstern, in his very interesting work already referred to, relates an anecdote, which it may amuse the reader to compare with the reasoning of Commodore Anson's now given:

"An English brig (The Harrier) of eighteen guns, sent by Captain Wood, commanding a squadron on that station, to demand indemnification for a Spanish prize stranded on the coast of China, and plundered by the natives, had the audacity, in defiance of the laws of China, which prohibit ships of war going up the Tigris, to force her way as high as Whampoa. Two mandarines, as usual, went aboard the brig at the mouth of the river, to enquire what her cargo was. The captain shewed them a cannon-ball, on which they instantly retired.

"The brig," says K. "had found her way to Whampoa without a pilot; and the captain, with a guard of twelve men, proceeded to Canton to demand the payment of the sum (£80,000.) This daring conduct threw the viceroy into astonishment, and perhaps occasioned him some terror; for nothing but the excessive cowardice of the Chinese could have deterred him from noticing the affront. They, indeed, shewed a disposition after the captain had quitted Canton of avenging themselves, but this altogether in their customary manner; and I was assured, that the viceroy, as indemnification for this insult of the English captain, had imposed a heavy fine upon the Kohong (a company of merchants possessing the monopoly of the European trade,) although the members of this body could have no concern in the transaction." Capt. K. is decidedly of opinion, that nothing but resolute conduct will overcome the fickleness and knavery of the Chinese. He pays a high compliment to our countrymen, especially Mr Drummond, president of the factory, who interfered in his behalf when at Whampoa, and with effect, when they could easily have thwarted his plan, and embroiled his government with that of China. "That they pursued a very different line of conduct," says he, "will appear by the above account of their proceedings; nor can I sufficiently rejoice at the zeal and eagerness manifested by them in this business. Had we been detained only twenty-four hours longer (he had applied for leave to depart, which was granted with much difficulty, and actually revoked a day after he had gone,) we must have fallen into the absolute power of these savages, who have been emboldened by an useless moderation, not only to call the polite nations of Europe barbarians, but also to treat them as such."—E.

for the three mandarines completely finished the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them: So that, after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices in drinking. The commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment, under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief mandarine clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had dispatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the mandarine still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish; and this being near finished, they arose from table in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drank, and the commodore having, according to custom, made the mandarine a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

After their departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the necessary licences for his refitment. For it must be observed, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries with his money, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves to work for him, without the permission of the government first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions, the magistrates never fail of exercising great severity, they, notwithstanding the fustian eulogiums bestowed on them by the catholic missionaries and their European copiers, being composed of the same fragile materials with the rest of mankind, and often making use of the authority of the law, not to suppress crimes, but to enrich themselves by the pillage of those who commit them; for capital punishments are rare in China, the effeminate genius of the nation, and their strong attachment to lucre, disposing them rather to make use of fines; and hence arises no inconsiderable profit to those who com-

pose

pose their tribunals: Consequently prohibitions of all kinds, particularly such as the alluring prospect of great profit may often tempt the subject to infringe, cannot but be favourite institutions in such a government. But to return:

Some time before this, Captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with dispatches from the commodore; and soon after, in the month of December, Captain Mitchel, Colonel Cracherode, and Mr Tassel, one of the agent-victuallers, with his nephew Mr Charles Harriot, embarked on board some of our company's ships; and I, having obtained the commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them.

Whilst we lay here at Macao, we were informed by some of the officers of our Indiamen, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ships of our squadron, which had separated from us off Cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coast of Brazil. I have formerly taken notice, that at the time of their separation, we apprehended them to be lost, And there were many reasons which greatly favoured this suspicion: For we knew that the Severn in particular was extremely sickly; and this was the more obvious to the rest of the ships, as, in the preceding part of the voyage, her commander, Captain Legg, had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his station, till, for the last ten days before his separation, his crew was so diminished and enfeebled, that with his utmost efforts it was not possible for him to maintain it. Whatever was the cause of it, the Severn was by much the most sickly of the squadron: For before her departure from St Catharines, she buried more men than any of them, insomuch that the commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of fresh hands; and the mortality still continuing, she was supplied with men a second time at sea, after our setting sail from St Julians; and, notwithstanding these different reinforcements, she was at last reduced to the distressed condition I have already mentioned.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the mandarine governor of Janson, at his leaving Mr Anson, several days were elapsed before he had any advice from him; and Mr Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the influence, as I suppose, of the French at Canton: For they had a countryman

man and fast friend residing on the spot, who spoke the language very well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the persons of several of the magistrates, and consequently could not be at a loss for means of traversing the assistance desired by Mr Anson. And this opposition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice or contrariety of political interests, but was in good measure owing to their vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind, than any attachment to the public service of their community: For, the French pretending their Indiamen to be men of war, their officers were apprehensive that any distinction granted to Mr Anson, on account of his bearing the king's commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chinese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance: And I wish the affectation of endeavouring to pass for men of war, and the fear of sinking in the estimation of the Chinese, if the Centurion was treated in a different manner from themselves, had been confined to the officers of the French ships only.[9] However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem that the representation of the commodore to the mandarines of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect: For, on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janson, the commodore's advocate, sent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and the next day a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board to agree for the work. They demanded at first to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling for the necessary repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts: This the commodore seemed to think an unreasonable sum, and endeavoured to persuade them to work by the day; but that proposal they would not hearken to; so it was at last agreed, that the carpenters should have to the amount of about six hundred pounds; and that the smiths should be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate

[9] This sly insinuation, it is pretty evident from the preceding narrative, is directed against some of the English merchants.—E.

rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the small work, and forty-six shillings for the large.

This being regulated, the commodore exerted himself to get this most important business completed; I mean the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the state of her bottom: For this purpose the first lieutenant was dispatched to Canton to hire two country vessels, called in their language junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: At the same time the ground was smoothed on one of the neighbouring islands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious; and it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived; and the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly, partly from the distance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants. And in this interval Mr Anson had the additional perplexity to discover that his fore-mast was broken asunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fishes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the Centurion's people made the most of their time, and exerted themselves the best they could; and as, by clearing the ship, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to secure that effectually, whilst the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen-foot mark, and was principally occasioned by one of the bolts being wore away and loose in the joining of the stem where it was scarfed.

At last all things being prepared, they, on the 22d of February, in the morning, hove out the first course of the Centurion's starboard side, and had the satisfaction to find that her bottom appeared sound and good; and, the next day (having by that time completed the new sheathing of the first course) they righted her again, to set up anew the careening rigging which stretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ship from a suspicion

suspicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of March; when, having completed the paying and sheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where very sound, they for the last time righted the ship to their great joy, for not only the fatigue of careening had been considerable, but they had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilst the ship was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundless; for they learnt afterwards by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards at Manilla had been informed that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the governor had summoned his council, and had proposed to them to endeavour to burn her whilst she was careening, which was an enterprise, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger: They were farther told that this scheme was not only proposed, but resolved on; and that a captain of a vessel had actually undertaken to perform the business for forty thousand dollars, which he was not to receive unless he succeeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, and insisting that the merchants should advance the money, and they refusing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped: Perhaps the merchants suspected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thousand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by some who bore the governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to ascertain.

As soon as the Centurion was righted, they took in her powder and gunner's stores, and proceeded in getting in their guns as fast as possible, and then used their utmost expedition in repairing the fore-mast, and in completing the other articles of her refitment. And being thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of March, by a Chinese fisherman, who brought them intelligence that he had been on board a large Spanish ship off the grand Ladrone, and that there were two more in company with her: He added several particulars to his relation, as that he had brought one of their officers to Macao; and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from Macao to them: And the better to establish the belief of his veracity, he said he desired no money if his information should not prove true. This was presently believed to be the fore-

mentioned

mentioned expedition from Manilla, and the commodore immediately fitted his cannon and small arms in the best manner he could for defence; and having then his pinnace and cutter in the offing, who had been ordered to examine a Portuguese vessel which was getting under sail, he sent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out strictly: But no such ships ever appeared, and they were soon satisfied the whole of the story was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reason could induce the fellow to be at such extraordinary pains to impose on them.

It was the beginning of April before they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3d of April, two mandarine boats came on board from Macao to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr Anson of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not before. On this rebuke the Chinese (though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

On the 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and by the 15th, she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she passed along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to, and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

SECTION XXX.

From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo; the taking of the Manilla Galleon, and returning back again.

THE commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: His crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch. He gave out at Macao that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature: For he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla, there would be this year in all probability two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns a-piece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: But this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manilla galleons.

This

This project the commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension, lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galleons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret; for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connection of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear, that if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures taken to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands: But being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manilla ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should chuse a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: For his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find, his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both.

This speech of the commodore's was received by his people with great joy: For no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which, since their departure from the coast of Mexico, had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves, that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched

with the spoils of the enemy: For, firmly relying on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that, the commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, and one day enquiring of his butcher, why, for some time past, he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the butcher very seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that, if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the general of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward; and, on the first of May, they saw part of the island of Formosa; and, standing thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the south end of Formosa: For this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the mast-head five small islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Bottle Tobago Xima. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the westward: For, by their observations, they esteemed the middle of these islands to be in 21° 4′ north, and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima S.S.E. twenty leagues distant, that island itself being in 21° 57′ north.[1]

After

[1] The Bashee Islands were so called by Dampier from the name of a liquor used by the natives. Four of them are inhabited, and are tolerably fertile, producing sugar canes, pine apples, plantaines, potatoes, &c. and having some hogs and goats. The inhabitants, who are reckoned a harmless and peaceable race, are said to resemble the Japanese, and probably are derived from them. The unfortunate Peyreuse visited one of the most northerly of these islands, and found its latitude to be 21° 9′ 13″ N. Arrowsmith's map lays them down very particularly. The passage betwixt Formosa and these islands is held very dangerous on account of the rock called Vele Rete, the precise situation of which is matter of discord among the navigators. Captain Krusenstern went through this passage during the night, and that a stormy one too, with perfect safety, keeping the middle of

After getting a sight of the Bashee islands, they stood between the S. and S.W. for Cape Espiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S.S.W. about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As it was known that there were centinels placed upon this cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with the land, the commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered; and, this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galleons, they kept the cape between the south and the west, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the latitude of 12° 50′, and 13° 5′, the cape itself lying, by their observations, in 12° 40′ north, and 4° of east longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the last of May, when they arrived off this cape; and the month of June being that in which the Manilla ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons, during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galleon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention.[2]

The galleons being now expected, the commodore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long-boat, and lashed her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galleons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape, as not to be discovered:

the channel, and having men continually on the look-out. He seems to prefer the position of Vele Rete and its reef of rocks, (of about two miles circuit,) as given by Broughton, according to whose observations the latitude is 21° 43′ 24″, and the longitude 239° 15′.—E.

[2] The original has here some reflections on the importance and advantages of exercising the seamen in firing, &c. which, however good, are too common and obvious to merit insertion. The art of destroying men's lives has been abundantly improved since our author's day.—E.

vered: But it hath been since learnt, that notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manilla, where it was at first disbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) their merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station: And some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, and the enterprize was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the Centurion from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board, as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"*May* 31. Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galleons very soon; this being the eleventh of June their stile."

"*June* 3. Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galleons."

"*June* 5. Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June their stile."

"*June* 11. Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galleons."

"*June* 13. The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past, gives us great expectations of seeing the galleons soon."

"*June* 15. Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly."

"*June*

"*June* 19. This being the last day of June, N.S. the galleons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how completely the treasure of the galleons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June, O. S. being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty; when, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head, in the S.E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to see the other. The commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort, to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The commodore was surprised to find, that in all this time the galleon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the commodore was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galleon haled up her fore-sail, and brought-to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant-mast-head. Mr Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great

great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and, instead of firing broad-sides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns, and fire with great briskness, till another broad-side is ready: But the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying-to; and, towards one o'clock, the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to embarrass them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern-chacers; and, the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the Centurion came a-breast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half hour, Mr Anson over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports, he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only

bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galleon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the commodore, for he feared least the galleon should be burnt, and least he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: But the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass, which was in flames, into the sea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to her top-men, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small-arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galleon himself. And though the Centurion, after the first half hour, lost her original situation, and was close alongside the galleon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarrassment was visible from on board the commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters: But all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head, the person who was employed to do it, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded

commanded by the general Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galleon was much larger than the Centurion, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pidreroes in her gunwale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two-inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom, but one, recovered: Of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: For no sooner had the galleon struck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, by which a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch-way, near the after-powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant, too, the galleon fell on board the Centurion on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The commodore made his first lieutenant, Mr Saumarez, captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners, but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating

vigating the galleon. And now the commodore learnt, from some of the prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize, as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manilla long before the Centurion arrived off Espiritu Santo; so that Mr Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.

The commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurion, which ship, by the presence of the commander in chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless much safer against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galleon; and the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors, depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the commodore much trouble and disquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method, which was taken to hinder them from rising, was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger, whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatch-way on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; these funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been

been done without them; and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel-guns loaded with musquet-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel with lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, who amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabin with a centinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his cloaths, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a-day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who died the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed, that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for when they were first taken, they were sightly, robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the

the commodore stood for the river of Canton; and, on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape Delangano, which then bore west ten leagues distant; and, the next day, he made the Bashee islands, and the wind being so far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth islands, where the passage seemed to be clear; but in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it rippled and foamed, as if it had been full of breakers, which was still more terrible, as it was then night. But the ships got through very safe, (the prize always keeping a-head) and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. I must here observe, that though the Bashee islands are usually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the westward, which, as the channels amongst them are not at all known, makes it advisable for ships, rather to pass to the northward or southward, than through them; and indeed the commodore proposed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formosa, had it been possible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion steering the proper course for the river of Canton, she, on the 8th of July, discovered the island of Supata, the westermost of the Lema islands. This island they made to be an hundred and thirty-nine leagues distant from Grafton's island, and to bear from it north 82°, 37° west: And, on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galleon were well ascertained, and it was found that she had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of small account, in comparison of the specie. And this being the commodore's last prize, it hence appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of 400,000*l.* independent of the ships and merchandise, which she either burnt or destroyed, and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as 600,000*l.* more; so that the whole loss of the enemy, by our squadron, did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which, if there be added the great

great expence of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loss of their men of war, the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy.

SECTION XXXI.

Transactions in the River of Canton.

THE commodore, having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of Canton; and on the 14th of July, came to an anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river: This entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger island, which is a very safe road, secured from all winds. But whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the mandarine, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris, to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr Anson informed the officer, that his ship was a ship of war, belonging to the king of Great Britain; and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to shelter himself against the hurricanes which were then coming on; and that as soon as the monsoon shifted, he should proceed for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which he said was to be sent to the government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying, that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the regency. After he had finished his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave the two custom-house officers behind him; on which the commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited

hibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him, that the emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports: And it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot, not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes it necessary more particularly to describe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow passage, little more than musquet-shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the starboard-side being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embrasures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, seeming to be four or six pounders; the fort on the larboard-side is a large castle, resembling those old buildings which here in England we often find distinguished by that name; it is situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six pounders. These are the defences which secure the river of Canton; and which the Chinese (extremely defective in all military skill) have imagined were sufficient to prevent any enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship, till he had leave from the forts, yet as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ship ran aground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed the poor pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen, for when he came on shore, he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with the bamboo.

However,

However, he found means to get at Mr Anson afterwards, to desire of him some recompence for the chastisement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very significant marks about him; and Mr Anson, in commiseration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to have undergone a dozen bastinadings.

Nor was the pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion; for the commodore soon after seeing some royal junks pass by him from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learnt, on enquiry, that the mandarine commanding the forts was a prisoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass; and the commodore urging the unreasonableness of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwise, explaining to the Chinese the great superiority his ships would have had over the forts, by the number and size of their guns, the Chinese seemed to acquiesce in his reasoning, and allowed that their forts could not have stopped him; but they still asserted, that the mandarine would infallibly suffer, for not having done what all his judges were convinced was impossible. To such indefensible absurdities are those obliged to submit who think themselves concerned to support their authority, when the necessary force is wanting.

On the 16th of July the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to the viceroy. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galleon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the regency sent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr Anson's power. And on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: However, they

they acknowledged that they had been treated by the commodore, much better than they believed they should have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had revered the commodore's power, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important person; to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the estimation and reverence of the Chinese nation.

In this examination of the Spanish prisoners, though the Chinese had no reason in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumstances which appeared to them so singular, as to deserve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great disproportion of men between the Centurion and the galleon; the other was the humanity with which the people of the galleon were treated after they were taken. The mandarines therefore asked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force; and how it happened, since the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the English. To the first of these enquiries the Spaniards replied, that though they had more hands than the Centurion, yet she being intended solely for war, had a great superiority in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galleon, which was a vessel fitted out principally for traffic: And as to the second question, they told the Chinese, that amongst the nations of Europe, it was not customary to put to death those who submitted; though they readily owned, that the commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unusual courtesy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war with each other. These replies fully satisfied the Chinese, and at the same time wrought very powerfully in the commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore the

viceroy

viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the viceroy, in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the viceroy desired to be excused from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then excessive hot weather; because the assembling the mandarines and soldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see both the commodore himself, and the English captain of the other ship, that was with him. As Mr Anson knew that an express had been dispatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt, but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's instructions, about their behaviour on this unusual affair.

When the mandarines had delivered their message, they began to talk to the commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them, that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandise thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reasonably deemed to be within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only, adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbad him from paying any acknowledgement for his ships anchoring in any port whatever.

The mandarines being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon; for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his master, might be displeased, if he should be informed, that persons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr Anson was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having, on his first arrival, sent about an hundred of them to Macao, and those who remained, near four hundred

more,

more, were, on many accounts, a great incumbrance to him. However, to enhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the mandarines, that to show his readiness to oblige the viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would send boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the mandarines departed; and, on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the commodore, agreeable to his promise, dismissed them all, and ordered his purser to send with them eight days provision for their subsistence, during their sailing down the river; this being dispatched, the Centurion and her prize came to her moorings, above the second bar, where they proposed to continue till the monsoon shifted.

Though the ships, in consequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption, yet it was impossible for the commodore to proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and stores for his use, during the voyage: The procuring this supply was attended with much embarrassment; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted; and his linguist, towards the middle of September, had assured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be sent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing being brought, the commodore sent to Canton to enquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: And he had soon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illusion: that no order had been procured from the viceroy to furnish him with sea-stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness which had been promised him; nor did it appear, that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected, that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troublesome matter than had been hitherto imagined; especially too, as the month of September was nearly elapsed, without Mr Anson's having received any message from the viceroy of Canton.

And here perhaps it might be expected that some satisfactory

factory account should be given of the motives of the Chinese for this faithless procedure. But as I have already, in a former chapter, made some kind of conjectures about a similar event, I shall not repeat them again in this place, but shall observe, that after all, it may perhaps be impossible for an European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprised of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people; but then the combination of these talents, and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration: So that though it may be safely concluded, that the Chinese had some interest in thus amusing the commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too severe in ascribing to this nation a fraudulent and selfish turn of temper, so contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Roman missionaries, I shall here mention an extraordinary transaction or two, which I hope will be some kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the commodore lay first at Macao, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, desired leave of him to go on shore every day on a neighbouring island, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the restoring of his health: The commodore would have dissuaded him, suspecting the tricks of the Chinese, but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him. The first day he was put on shore he took his exercise, and returned without receiving any molestation, or even seeing any of the inhabitants; but the second day, he was assaulted, soon after his arrival, by a great number of Chinese who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him so violently with the handles of their hoes, that they soon laid him on the ground incapable of resistance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his sword, the hilt of which was silver, his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, snuff-box, sleeve-buttons, and hat, with several other trinkets: In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at some little distance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giv-

ing

ing him any assistance; till at last one of them flew on the fellow who had the sword in his possession, and wresting it out of his hands, drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the Chinese, some of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to desist, thinking it more prudent to submit to the present violence, than to embroil his commodore in an inextricable squabble with the Chinese government by the death of their subjects; which calmness in this gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a person of an uncommon spirit, and of a somewhat hasty temper: By this means the Chinese recovered the possession of the sword, which they soon perceived was prohibited to be made use of against them, and carried off their whole booty unmolested. No sooner were they gone, than a Chinese on horseback, very well dressed, and who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, came down to the shore, and, as far as could be understood by his signs, seemed to censure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiserate the officer, being wonderfully officious to assist in getting him on board the boat: But notwithstanding this behaviour, it was shrewdly suspected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully evinced the justice of those suspicions.

When the boat returned on board, and reported what had passed to the commodore, he immediately complained of it to the mandarine, who attended to see his ship supplied; but the mandarine coolly replied, that the boat ought not to have gone on shore, promising, however, that if the thieves could be found out, they should be punished; though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of answering, that he would never give himself any trouble in searching them out. However, a considerable time afterwards, when some Chinese boats were selling provisions to the Centurion, the person who had wrested the sword from the Chinese came with great eagerness to the commodore, to assure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a provision-boat alongside the ship; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to seize him; and he was accordingly secured on board the ship, where strange discoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being apprehended, expressed so much fright,

fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the spot; the mandarine too, who attended the ship, had visibly no small share of concern on the occasion. Indeed he had reason enough to be alarmed, since it was soon evinced that he had been privy to the whole robbery, for the commodore, declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himself order him to be shot, the mandarine immediately put off the magisterial air with which he had at first pretended to demand him, and begged his release in the most abject manner; and the commodore appearing inflexible, there came on board, in less than two hours time, five or six of the neighbouring mandarines, who all joined in the same entreaty, and, with a view of facilitating their suit, offered a large sum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilst they were thus soliciting, it was discovered that the mandarine, who was the most active amongst them, and who seemed to be most interested in the event, was the very gentleman who came to the officer just after the robbery, and who pretended to be so much displeased with the villainy of his countrymen. And, on further enquiry, it was found that he was the mandarine of the island; and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the peasants to commit that infamous action: And it seemed, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were casually thrown out, that he and his brethren, who were all privy to the transaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the first article of their punishment would be the stripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chastisement so lucrative to themselves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr Anson was not displeased to have caught the Chinese in this dilemma; and he entertained himself for some time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with scorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief should certainly be shot; but as he then foresaw that he should be forced to take shelter in their ports a second time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the magistrates would be of great service to him, he at length permitted himself to be persuaded, and, as a favour, released his prisoner, but not till the mandarine had collected and returned all that had been stolen from the officer, even to the minutest trifle.

But,

But, notwithstanding this instance of the good intelligence between the magistrates and criminals, the strong inclination of the Chinese to lucre often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them, of its proper quota of the pillage. For not long after the above-mentioned transaction, (the former mandarine attendant on the ship, being, in the mean time, relieved by another,) the commodore lost a top-mast from his stern, which, after the most diligent enquiry, could not be traced: As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely desirous to recover it, and published a considerable reward to any who would bring it him again. There were suspicions from the first of its being stolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likeliest method of getting it back: Accordingly, soon after, the mandarine told him that some of his, the mandarine's people, had found the top-mast, desiring the commodore to send his boats to fetch it, which being done, the mandarine's people received the promised reward; but the commodore told the mandarine that he would make him a present besides for the care he had taken in directing it to be searched for, and, accordingly, Mr Anson gave a sum of money to his linguist, to be delivered to the mandarine; but the linguist knowing that the people had been paid, and ignorant that a further present had been promised, kept the money himself: However, the mandarine fully confiding in Mr Anson's word, and suspecting the linguist, took occasion one morning to admire the size of the Centurion's masts, and thence, on a pretended sudden recollection, he made a digression to the top-mast which had been lost, and asked Mr Anson if he had not got it again. Mr Anson presently perceived the bent of this conversation, and enquired of him if he had not received the money from the linguist, and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the spot. But this the mandarine refused, having now somewhat more in view than the sum which had been detained; for the next day the linguist was seized, and was doubtless mulcted of all he had gotten in the commodore's service, which was supposed to be little less than two thousand dollars; he was, besides, so severely bastinadoed with the bamboo, that it was with difficulty he escaped with life; and when he was upbraided by the commodore

modore (to whom he afterwards came begging) with his folly in risking all he had suffered for fifty dollars (the present intended for the mandarine,) he had no other excuse to make than the strong bias of his nation to dishonesty, replying, in his broken jargon, "Chinese man very great rogue truly, but have fashion, no can help."

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds which were practised on the commodore and his people, by this interested race. The method of buying all things in China being by weight, the tricks made use of by the Chinese to increase the weight of the provision they sold to the Centurion, were almost incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ship's use, the greatest part of them presently died. This alarmed the people on board with the apprehensions that they had been killed by poison, but, on examination, it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight, the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs, too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose; so that a carcass, hung up all night for the water to drain from it, hath lost above a stone of its weight; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that the Chinese gave them salt to increase their thirst, and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animal in this inflated state. When the commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practised an artifice of another kind; for as the Chinese never object to the eating of any food that dies of itself, they took care, by some secret practices, that great part of his live sea-store should die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a second profit of the dead carcasses, which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two-thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. These instances may serve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the rest of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities.

The commodore, towards the end of September, having found

found out (as has been said) that those who had contracted to supply him with sea-provisions and stores had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not sent to him according to his promise, saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the embarrassment he was under, without going himself to Canton and visiting the viceroy; and, therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the mandarine who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he, the commodore, intended, on the 1st of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton, adding, that the day after he got there he should notify his arrival to the viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the mandarine returned no other answer, than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew in particular, which Mr Anson proposed to take with him, were cloathed in an uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a coxswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, and with silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be insisted on previous to the granting a permission for victualling the ship for her future voyage, the commodore, who was resolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton; and, therefore, for the security of his ship, and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first lieutenant, Mr Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to destroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some sort embarrassed thereby. It is reasonable

able to imagine, that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them, not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those dues, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already so frequently insisted: However, as they now foresaw that they had no other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the commodore was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themselves in an hostile measure, which they found would only expose them to the risk of having the whole navigation of their port destroyed, without any certain prospect of gaining their favourite point.

However, though there is reason to imagine that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evasive conduct to which they had hither to adhered. For when the commodore, on the morning of the 1st of October, was preparing to set out for Canton, his linguist came to him from the mandarine, who attended his ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy of Canton, desiring the commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days: But in the afternoon of the same day another linguist came on board, who, with much seeming fright, told Mr Anson that the viceroy had expected him up that day, that the counsel was assembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the commodore's linguist to prison chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the linguist's negligence. This plausible tale gave the commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was some treachery designed him, which he could not yet fathom; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet (for reasons best known to themselves) this falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the commodore received a letter, signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneasiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the viceroy was fully satisfied about the mistake. To

this letter Mr Anson replied, that he did not believe there had been any mistake, but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the viceroy; that, therefore, he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him an insult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of October, the commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships, came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which, on this occasion, came to form his retinue; and, as he passed by Whampoa, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening arrived safely at Canton.

Section XXXII.

Proceedings at the City of Canton, and the Return of the Centurion to England.

When the commodore arrived at Canton, he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude that the viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on; they added, that as soon as the viceroy should be informed that Mr Anson was at Canton (which they promised should be done the next morning,) they were persuaded a day would be immediately appointed for the visit, which was the principal business that had brought the commodore thither.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr Anson, and told him that the viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him for some days, but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the day of audience. The commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falsehood;

a falsehood; and had he consulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands: But the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the government, and of suffering in their interest, if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr Anson at that time to be the most prudential; and, therefore, lest the malice and double-dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident, which would be afterwards charged on him, he resolved to continue passive as long as it should appear that he lost no time by thus suspending his own opinion. With this view, he promised not to take any immediate step for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chinese with whom he contracted for provisions would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch; but if by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off (which it was supposed would be in about forty days,) the merchants should not have procured the viceroy's permission, then the commodore proposed to apply for himself. These were the terms Mr Anson thought proper to offer, to quiet the uneasiness of the supercargoes, and, notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chinese agree to them till the commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last, the contract being past, it was some satisfaction to the commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on, and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to get a license from the viceroy, and their frequent disappointments, which to him was now a matter of amusement, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they said. But when all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N.E. monsoon was set in, he then resolved to apply himself to the viceroy to demand an audience, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the procuring a permission to send his stores on board would

meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr Anson sent one of his officers to the mandarine, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the mandarine, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer it was not necessary for him to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

On this occasion Mr Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to send with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese, usually employed as linguists, could be relied on: But he at last prevailed with Mr Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This person, who upon this occasion and many others was of singular service to the commodore, had been left at Canton when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chinese language was a step taken by that captain, merely from his own persuasion of the great advantages which the East-India company might one day receive from an English interpreter; and though the utility of this measure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this day imitated: But we imprudently choose (except in this single instance) to carry on the vast transactions of the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken English, which some few of the Chinese have learnt, or by the suspected interpretation of the linguists of other nations.[1]

Two days after the sending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr Anson went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to assist the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings, and the awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting head apace: But he perceived, that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was running along

[1] The practice recommended, it is almost unnecessary to remark, has been adopted since our author's time, but certainly not to the extent the probable advantages of it would suggest.—E.

along a wooden cornish, which would soon communicate it to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornish; this was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed; but, in the meantime, he was told, that, as there was no mandarine there to direct what was to be done, the Chinese would make him, the commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his orders. On this his people desisted; and he sent them to the English factory, to assist in securing the company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put a stop to it; for all this time the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress: However, at last, a mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: These made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchants' warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence; so that its fury increased upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the viceroy himself came thither, and the commodore was sent to, and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. And now he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, upon this occasion, exerted themselves in such a manner, as in that country was altogether without example: For they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongst which they wrought; so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidst the ruins of houses, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese; and the building being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries, than some considerable bruises.

The fire, though at last thus luckily extinguished, did great mischief during the time it continued; for it consumed

med an hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum; and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Succoy, was supposed, for his own share, to have lost near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. It raged indeed with unusual violence, for in many of the warehouses, there were large quantities of camphor, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which shot up into the air to such a prodigious height, that it was plainly seen on board the Centurion, though she was thirty miles distant.

Whilst the commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general still possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr Anson, to desire that he would let each of them have one of his soldiers (for such they styled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dress) to guard their warehouses and dwelling-houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus furnished to the Chinese behaved greatly to the satisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the resolution of the English at the fire, and their trustiness and punctuality elsewhere, was the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese: And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his assistance; frankly owning to him, that they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves, and that he had saved their city from being totally consumed. And soon after a message came to the commodore from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which sudden resolution of the viceroy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr Anson and his people at the fire, of which the viceroy himself had been in some measure an eye-witness.

The fixing this business of the audience, was, on all accounts, a circumstance which Mr Anson was much pleased with; as he was satisfied that the Chinese government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they

they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask; for as they well knew the commodore's sentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not consistent with the refined cunning of the Chinese, to have admitted him to an audience, only to have contested with him. And therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day. Mr Flint, whom he engaged to act as interpreter in the conference, acquitted himself much to the commodore's satisfaction; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no Chinese linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a mandarine came to the commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was ready to receive him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately set out: And as soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers drawn up ready to attend him; these conducted him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine appearance, being all of them new clothed for this ceremony: And Mr Anson and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of mandarines attending: Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival: He was ranked the third in order from the viceroy, there being above him only the head of the law, and of the treasury, who in the Chinese government take place of all military officers. When the commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the viceroy stopped the interpreter, and bid him assure Mr Anson, that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. Mr Anson then proceeded, and told him, that the subjects of the king of Great

Great Britain trading to China had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the mandarines, who alone could grant them redress: That it was his, Mr Anson's, duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into consideration, and would give orders, that for the future there should be no just reason for complaint. Here Mr Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him, he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr Anson then represented to the viceroy the case of the ship Haslingfield, which, having been dismasted on the coast of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had lost besides, in the confusion, a chest of treasure of four thousand five hundred tahel, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boat-men. Mr Anson therefore desired that the captain might have the assistance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interposition of the mandarines. And to this request the viceroy made answer, that in settling the emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now the commodore having dispatched the business with which the officers of the East-India company had entrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the viceroy, that the proper season was now set in for returning to Europe, and that he waited only for a licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The viceroy replied to this, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr Anson had nothing farther to insist on, the viceroy continued the conversation

conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his signal services at the fire, and owning that he had saved the city from being destroyed: And then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his discourse, by wishing the commodore a good voyage to Europe. After which, the commodore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

As soon as the commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the viceroy himself was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the same manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was saluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him great disquietude. Indeed he was highly pleased with procuring a licence for the shipping of his stores and provisions; for thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the first of the monsoon, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: But this, though a very important point, was not the circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent established on this occasion, by which his majesty's ships of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In pursuance of the promises of the viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day after the audience; and, four days after, the commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion; and on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. And on this occasion I must observe, that the Chinese had taken care to man the two forts, on each side of that passage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and match-lock musquets. These garrisons affected to shew themselves as much as possible to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr Anson to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power: For this purpose they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours

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exposed to view; and on the castle in particular there were laid considerable heaps of large stones; and a soldier of unusual size, dressed in very sightly armour, stalked about on the parapet with a battle-axe in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible, though some of the observers on board the Centurion shrewdly suspected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel, it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and consequently upon the point of leaving the Chinese jurisdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chinese affairs, to subjoin a few remarks on the disposition and genius of that extraordinary people. And though it may be supposed, that observations made at Canton only, a place situated in the corner of the empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general conclusions, yet as those who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepossessions, and as the transactions of Mr Anson with the regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumstances occurred, different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from these incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people, is sufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are established amongst them, and which are eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts seems to be the most important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a second-rate kind; for they are much out-done by the Japanese in those manufactures, which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous instances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency seems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius, which constantly attends all servile imitators. This is most conspicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all these, though they can copy the different parts, and can form some resemblance of the whole, yet they

they never could arrive at such a justness in their fabric, as was necessary to produce the desired effect. And if we pass from their manufactures to artists of a superior class, as painters, statuaries, &c., in these matters they seem to be still more defective, their painters, though very numerous and in great esteem, rarely succeeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compositions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in these, some part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightness and excellency of the colours, than to the skill of the painter; since it is very unusual to see the light and shade justly and naturally handled, or to find that ease and grace in the drawing, which are to be met with in the works of European artists. In short, there is a stiffness and minuteness in most of the Chinese productions, which are extremely displeasing: And it may perhaps be asserted with great truth, that these defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongst whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chinese literature, (taking our accounts from the writers, who have endeavoured to represent it in the most favourable light) we shall find, that on this head their obstinacy and absurdity are most wonderful: For though, for many ages, they have been surrounded by nations, to whom the use of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chinese alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themselves of that almost divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of representing words by arbitrary marks; a method, which necessarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwise than partially skilled; whilst all reading, and understanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obscurity and confusion; for the connection between these marks, and the words they represent, cannot be retained in books, but must be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: And how uncertain this must prove in such a complicated subject, is sufficiently obvious to those who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are transmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the history

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and inventions of past ages, recorded by these perplexed symbols, must frequently prove unintelligible; and consequently the learning and boasted antiquity of the nation must, in numerous instances, be extremely problematical.

But we are told by some of the missionaries, that though the skill of the Chinese in science is indeed much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and justice taught and practised by them are most exemplary. And from the description given by some of these good fathers, one should be induced to believe that the whole empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only contests were, who should exert the most humanity and beneficence: But our preceding relation of the behaviour of the magistrates, merchants, and tradesmen at Canton, sufficiently refutes these jesuitical fictions. And as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in the works of the missionaries, we shall find them solely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, instead of discussing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another on reasonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretension of the Chinese to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but solely on the affected evenness of their demeanour, and their constant attention to suppress all symptoms of passion and violence. But it must be considered, that hypocrisy and fraud are often not less mischievous to the general interests of mankind, than impetuosity and vehemence of temper, since these, though usually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude sincerity, benevolence, resolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps if this matter were examined to the bottom, it would appear that the calm and patient turn of the Chinese, on which they so much value themselves, and which distinguishes the nation from all others, is in reality the source of the most exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often observed by those who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robust and violent passions, without augmenting at the same time the force of the selfish ones: So that the timidity, dissimulation, and dishonesty of the Chinese, may, in some sort, be owing to the

composure

composure and external decency so universally prevailing in that empire.

Thus much for the general disposition of the people: But I cannot dismiss this subject without adding a few words about the Chinese government, that too having been the subject of boundless panegyric. And on this head I must observe, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the administration of their domestic affairs, are sufficiently confuted by their transactions with Mr Anson: For we have seen that their magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish, and their tribunals crafty and venal. Nor is the constitution of the empire, or the general orders of the state, less liable to exception: Since that form of government, which does not in the first place provide for the security of the public against the enterprises of foreign powers, is certainly a most defective institution: And yet this populous, this rich, and extensive country, so pompously celebrated for its refined wisdom and policy, was conquered about an age since by an handful of Tartars; and even now, by the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues exposed not only to the attempts of any potent state, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already observed, on occasion of the commodore's disputes with the Chinese, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that empire: This perhaps may appear an extraordinary position; but to render it unquestionable, one may refer to vessels made use of by the Chinese.[a] The first of these is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tons burden, and was what the Centurion hove down by; these are most used in the great rivers, though they sometimes serve for small coasting voyages: The other junk is about two hundred and eighty tons burden, and is of the same form with those in which they trade to Cochinchina, Manilla, Batavia, and Japan, though some of their trading vessels are of a much larger size; its head is perfectly flat; and when the vessel is deep laden, the second or third plank of this flat surface is oft-times under water. The masts, sails, and rigging of these vessels are ruder than their built; for their masts are made of trees, no otherwise fashioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches

[a] The plate is necessarily omitted.

branches. Each mast has only two shrouds made of twisted rattan, which are often both shifted to the weather-side; and the halyard, when the yard is up, serves instead of a third shroud. The sails are made of mat, strengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run upon the mast with hoops, and when they are lowered down, they fold upon the deck. These merchantmen carry no cannon; and it appears, from this whole description, that they are utterly incapable of resisting any European armed vessel. Nor is the state provided with ships of considerable force, or of a better fabric, to protect them: For at Canton, where doubtless their principal naval power is stationed, we saw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burden, being of the make already described, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largest of which does not exceed a four-pounder. This may suffice to give an idea of the defenceless state of the Chinese empire. But it is time to return to the commodore, whom I left with his two ships without the Bocca Tigris; and who, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilst the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their agreement for the galleon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars; this was much short of her value, but the impatience of the commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on so unequal a bargain. Mr Anson had learnt enough from the English at Canton, to conjecture that the war betwixt Great Britain and Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great Britain; and therefore knowing, that no intelligence could get to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: For these reasons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galleon; and she being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December, 1743, the Centurion the same day got under sail, on her return to England. And on the 3d of January, she came to an anchor at Prince's Island, in the straits of Sunda,

Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th, when she weighed and stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the eleventh of March she anchored in Table-Bay.

Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilized colony, was not disgraced in an imaginary comparison with the vallies of Juan Fernandez, and the lawns of Tinian. During his stay he entered about forty new men; and having by the 3d of April, 1744, completed his water and provision, he on that day weighed and put to sea; and on the 19th of the same month they saw the island of St Helena, which, however, they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and, on the 10th of June, being then in soundings, they spoke with an English ship from Amsterdam bound for Philadelphia, whence they received the first intelligence of a French war; the 12th they got sight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprise, might pursue them to the very last, Mr Anson learnt on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the channel, which, by the account of their position, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months; after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.

[In concluding the account of this very interesting circumnavigation, it is necessary to advert to a question of some importance in literature, as every question must be that involves the claims of authors and their respective titles to reputation. Nor is the public often impatient in listening to evidence on such subjects, if the merit contended for be sufficiently great to justify solicitude as to its being rightly

rightly conferred. That it is so in the case of the question, Who was the author of this work? no one can doubt, that is capable of relishing its excellencies; or is aware of the high rank it has always held among compositions of the kind—that its first reception was such as to take off four large impressions within a twelvemonth—that it has been repeatedly printed since in a variety of forms—and that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe. The claimants are Mr Walter, chaplain of the Centurion, under whose name (as is mentioned in this volume of the Collection, p. 201,) it was originally, and, so far as the editor knows, always published; and Mr Benjamin Robins, an ingenious mathematician, and author of several works, much esteemed by men of science. A short statement of such information as the editor has been able to procure, is all that the limits of this work will permit to be said on the subject of this question. The public, being interested in what had been generally reported through the medium of the periodical publications, respecting the proceedings and fate of the squadron under Commodore Anson, had eagerly expected some account of this voyage drawn up under his notice, or authenticated by his approval. This anxiety, it is likely, was not a little enhanced by the circumstance of several small, but curious enough, narratives having been published of the distresses experienced by part of the squadron, especially the Wager; from which it was naturally enough inferred, that a judicious and minute account of the whole could not fail to gratify rational curiosity, and the common disposition to wonder. Mr Walter, accordingly, who had gone in the Centurion, the commodore's vessel, as chaplain, and who, it seems, had been in the habit of keeping memorials of the transactions aud occurrences of the squadron, prepared materials for publication, and actually procured subscriptions for the liquidation of its expense. He brought down his narrative to the time of his leaving the Centurion at Macao, when he returned by another conveyance to England. But as the public expectation had been raised very high, some persons, it would appear, suggested that the materials intended to be published should be carefully examined, and, if need be, corrected, by an adequate judge of literary and scientific composition. Mr Robins, already well known as an author of both mathematical and political essays, and much valued by several distinguished charac-

ters of the times, was engaged to undertake this task, whether with or without the desire of Mr Walter, or under any allegation of that gentleman's known or reputed incompetency to fulfil the hopes entertained, cannot now be discovered. On examination, we are told, it was resolved that Mr Robins should write the whole work anew, and merely use the materials furnished by Mr Walter, or otherwise, as the particulars of wind, weather, currents, courses, &c. &c. usually given in a sailor's journal. The introduction, and several dissertations interspersed through the work, are said, moreover, to have been written by Mr Robins without any such assistance whatever; but to what magnitude his labours throughout amounted, it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. That he acquired reputation by it is unquestionable; but that Mr Walter himself should not have contributed so much as to warrant his name appearing on the title-page of the book, and at its dedication to the Duke of Bedford, would require a proof of both want of talents and meanness of disposition, which no one yet has attempted to adduce. Mr Walter's character, indeed, seems to have been quite above either such deficiency; and, in all probability, was, both in point of firmness and moral and intellectual worth, the very circumstance which obtained for him the appointment to a responsible office in an expedition, which, in its origin, progress, and issue, attracted the peculiar regard of the British government, and the admiration of mankind in general. Besides this office, it may be mentioned, that in 1745, on his return from the expedition, he was made chaplain of Portsmouth dock-yard, in which situation he continued till his death on March 10th, 1785. The first edition of the work appeared in 1748; and a fifth being required in the following year, Mr Robins, it is said, revised it, and intended, had he remained in England, to have added a second volume. This rests on the assertion of Dr Wilson, who published Mr Robins' works after his death, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1761; and who, in the account of that gentleman's life prefixed, has been at pains to claim, in the strongest language, the merit of the Narrative for his friend. A passage or two from that memoir may satisfy the reader as to this part of the evidence, and as to the opinion of Dr W. one of the principal witnesses, respecting the proportional labours of Messrs Walter and Robins. "Upon a strict perusal of both the performances," says he, "I find Mr Robins' to contain

about as much matter again as that of Mr Walter—so this famous Voyage was composed in the person of the Centurion's chaplain, by Mr Robins in his own style and manner. Of this Mr Robins' friends, Mr Glover and Mr Ockenden, are witnesses as well as myself, we having compared the printed book with Mr Walter's manuscript. And this was at that time no secret, for in the counterpart of an indenture, now lying before me, made between Benjamin Robins, Esq. and John and Paul Knapton, booksellers, I find that those booksellers purchased the copy of this book from Mr Robins, as the sole proprietor, with no other mention of Mr Walter than a proviso in relation to the subscriptions he had taken." Dr Wilson evidently writes under some conviction that his assertions are liable to scrutiny, and that the matter of his remarks is debatable; hence his allegation that other *friends* of Mr Robins are witnesses as well as himself, and his insinuation that what he testifies was no secret. But it is obvious, that, were his own assertions of the fact at all questionable, he would be equally obnoxious to discredit in assigning these other witnesses; for clearly, the man who could falsify in the one case, would be capable of doing so in the other. This may be said without any impeachment whatever of either Dr Wilson or the other friends of Mr Robins. It is merely a remark on the mode of proof which the Dr has adopted. As to the insinuation again, of the fact being no secret, all that it may be requisite to say is simply this, that the circumstance of the existence of the counterpart of such an indenture as is mentioned, is a very indifferent proof of publicity; and that even were it otherwise, were it " confirmation strong," still it might be readily conceived that Mr Robins should be the sole proprietor of the work, and yet in no degree the author of it. One may believe, at least, that Mr Robins, having aided in drawing up the materials for publication, and having furnished some pieces for it, was entrusted with the disposal of it to the booksellers; Mr Walter himself, for value received, or other considerations, abandoning all further concern. Some importance has been attached to a letter from Lord Anson to Mr Robins, as preserved by Dr Wilson, and published, as he says, by his lordship's permission, or, to use his own expression, " Printed not without the noble lord's consent; who," says the doctor, " being requested to permit that this testimony might be exhibited to the world of his lordship's

esteem

esteem for Mr Robins, replied, in the politest manner, That every thing in his power was due to the memory of one who had deserved so well of the public." That Mr Robins deserved well of the public was unquestionable, though he had not written a line of the Narrative. He had published several works on subjects of general utility; and, besides his private instructions in beneficial science, he had been employed officially in the service of his country: In short, he needed not any thing of the reputation of the author of the Narrative, whoever he was, to extend his own. But does the letter referred to, or the quotation now given respecting Lord Anson's permission to publish it, in any degree determine the question, or any thing connected with it? The Editor has a different opinion of it; he thinks it quite irrelevant—that it does not yield the least shadow of proof, that Mr Robins had any thing to do with the volume of the Narrative, already given to the public. All that can be legitimately inferred from it amounts to this, that Lord Anson, entertaining a high opinion of Mr Robins, and being much pleased with his works, was desirous that he should publish a second volume of the Voyage, and apprehended that he had abandoned the intention of doing so. Of the fact of Mr Robins being the author of what had appeared, or even of the existence of materials for a second volume in a state fit for the public notice—of any thing, in short, but an intention on the part of Mr Robins to this effect, the letter in question says not a word. Let the reader judge for himself. The letter is as follows:—

"Dear Sir,

"When I last saw you in town, I forgot to ask you, whether you intended to publish the second volume of my "Voyage" before you leave us; which, I confess, I am very sorry for. If you should have laid aside all thoughts of favouring the world with more of your works, it will be much disappointed, and no one in it more than your very much obliged and humble servant,

Bath, 22d October, 1749. "Anson."

"If you can tell the time of your departure, let me know it."

This letter is also preserved by Mr Nichols in his Literary

 Anecdotes

Anecdotes of the 18th Century, vol. ii. page 206, where the Narrative is explicitly ascribed to Mr Robins, but not on any particular evidence. The statement indeed that is there given seems founded on Dr Wilson's account of Mr Robins, without any other source of information having been consulted. The Encyclopædia Britannica is somewhat more candid, stating merely what was generally thought as to the Narrative being the work of Mr Robins, and at the same time pointing, though indirectly, to the existence of information opposed to that opinion. "In 1748," says the article Robins, 3d edition, "appeared Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, which, though Mr Walter's name is in the title, has been generally thought to be the work of Mr Robins."—"The 5th edition, printed at London, in 1749, was revised and corrected by Mr Robins himself. It appears, however, from the corrigenda and addenda to the 1st volume of the Biographia Britannica, printed in the beginning of the 4th volume of that work, that Mr Robins was only consulted with respect to the disposition of the drawings, and that he had left England before the book was printed. Whether this be the fact, as it is asserted to be by the widow of Mr Walter, it is not for us to determine." The remark now made seems somewhat ambiguous, and may refer to either the 5th edition only, or to the work in general. In referring, however, to the Biog. Brit. as above, the ambiguity is removed, and a testimony is discovered in opposition to the statement of Dr Wilson, which the reader cannot fail to consider of very high import, and as bearing strongly against the claims of Mr Robins. The writers of the Biog. had spoken, in their account of Lord Anson, of the history of his voyage having been written by Mr Robins. This they did on common though uncontradicted report, arising in all probability from the positive assertions of Dr Wilson, to which, it is certainly very singular, neither Mr Walter nor any of his friends chose to object. With the most praise-worthy liberality and candour, however, these gentlemen, in the corrigenda, &c. referred to, insert the following notice:—"Thus has the matter hitherto stood. But so late as the present year (1789) and a few days previously to the writing of this note, a letter upon the subject has been put into our hands by Mr John Walter, bookseller at Charing Cross. It is addressed to that gentleman by Mrs Walter, the widow of the publisher of that Voyage, and is as follows:

"SIR,

"Sir,

"I am informed that the Biographia Britannica insinuates that Mr Robins, and not Mr Walter, was the writer of Lord Anson's Voyage round the World. I shall therefore take it as a favour, if you will put me in the way of correcting so great a mistake. During the time of Mr Walter's writing that Voyage, he visited me almost daily previous to our marriage, and I have frequently heard him say how closely he had been engaged in writing for some hours to prepare for his constant attendance upon Lord Anson at six every morning for his approbation, as his lordship overlooked every sheet that was written. At some of those meetings Mr Robins assisted, as he was consulted in the disposition of the drawings; and I also know that Mr Robins left England (for he was sent to Bergen-op-Zoom,)[1] some months before the publication of that book; and I have frequently seen Mr Walter correct the proof sheets for the printer. You may perhaps wonder that Mr Walter never took any steps to contradict the assertion; but that wonder will cease when I tell you that for four years before his death (which was in 1785) he laboured under very severe and painful illnesses, and therefore never heard any thing but newspaper squibs, which he looked upon with contempt. But as it now appears to be published in a work that will be handed down to posterity, that Mr Walter was not the real author, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to endeavour to clear his memory from any imputation of duplicity. Nor can it be supposed that any man would write a book for another to share the greatest part of the advantages. These and many other reasons make me to apply to you, as I should suppose that, as a relation to the deceased, you would be anxious for his fame, as well as,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Jane Walter."

June 16th, 1789.

"We shall make no other comment on this letter than to observe,

[1] "Mr Robins," says Dr Wilson, "was invited over to assist in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, then invested by the French; and he did accordingly set out for that place; but it was entered by the besiegers September 16, 1747, just after his arrival in the Dutch army." This corresponds well with Mrs Walter's statement, and must have its weight in the question.—E.

observe, that it is highly worthy of attention. If it shall give such full satisfaction to our readers as to convince them that Mr Walter was the writer of the voyage in its present form, we shall rejoice in having had an opportunity of doing justice to an injured character."

Such is all the information the Editor has been able to procure on this subject; and he regrets that it is not adequate to what is desirable for the determining it. He might seem invidiously disposed were he positively to decide in the claims, the respective evidences of which, though not logically contradictory, are so much opposed to each other; but he thinks he can hazard no unfavourable imputation, if he should merely state his opinion drawn from the consideration of the testimonies, and the comparison of the style of part of the Narrative, with that of the works which appeared in Mr Robins' name. He thinks, then, in few words, that the Narrative is really the production of Mr Walter, under whose name it appeared, but that it was materially increased in size, if not in real value, by the contributions of Mr Robins; and that the species of those contributions may be condescended on, which of course goes far to determine their amount.]

END OF VOLUME ELEVENTH.

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[illegible] supply of affection. If it shall [illegible] to the readers [illegible] convince [illegible] was the writer of the passage in its [illegible] real merit in having had an opportunity [illegible] to an injured character."

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Kerr, Robert

A general history and collection of voyages and travels arranged in systematic order, forming a complete history of the origin and progress of navigation, discovery, and commerce, by sea and land, from the earliest ages to the present time ; illustrated by maps and charts
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